

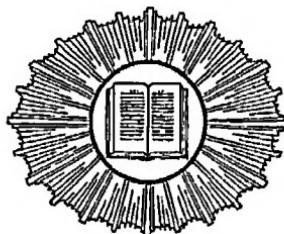
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BACKGROUND OF WORLD AFFAIRS

4614

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PREFACE

THE more critical a period, the greater is the need on the part of every civic-minded person to understand current developments; at the same time the nexus of events is the more confused. To get his bearings at all, in such a time as ours, the free citizen in a free country needs to know at least a little, and preferably much, about the background of world affairs. The schools have not been unmindful of this need; and in recent years high schools have added to their curricula various courses under such names as "World Affairs," "International Relations," and "Current Problems."

To base any such course primarily on current events themselves is to build the instructional house upon shifting sands. The still-in-process announcements of the day — surface events — may be so much dust before the eyes. It is essential to provide background material, solid information. The instructional edifice must be founded upon the rock of determinable fact, from which vantage point the stream of events may be seen to flow somehow logically within the channel of time.

The course out of which the present book developed was given to successive high school classes during a dozen years. The materials for guidance, frequently revised, were used in mimeographed form. The topics that survived from year to year gradually came to constitute the required work. The field covered in the course as given was deliberately limited; not every phase of the social studies was touched upon, much less developed. The amount of history was lessened so that more time might be devoted to the various problems of peoples

PREFACE

— cultural, economic, and legal — in their relations to one another; it was necessary continually to remind the students of the realities of geography. Maps, graphs, and tables were freely used, as they are in this book. An endeavor was made to present the minimal essentials for the intelligent contemplation of news events of world magnitude.

The more flexible part of any course of this type consists in the study of contemporary developments. For this *The American Observer*, *Our Times*, *Scholastic*, and other school weeklies provide helpful current reports and summaries. Many excellent pamphlets of news and comment are published regularly and are sold at very moderate prices. It is expected that students will follow the unfolding of events as reported in newspapers, radio broadcasts, and weekly news magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek*. The questions and topics that follow the several chapters of this book will, it is hoped, encourage the student to make independent use of the sources of information available to him.

It is expected also that on occasion the students will turn to European and American histories and to standard reference works for detailed information. Practice in the use of such tools is valuable; it needs to be encouraged in the hope that students, when their school years are over, will continue independently to study the ways of men and nations.

J. E.

PREFACE TO REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

The present revision has brought this book up to date and several chapters have been rewritten. Part V is new. Other new material has been added. It is not expected that a teacher may want to use all this material in any one semester.

It is hoped that this work will help provide the essential background that is so necessary for understanding the perilous problems of our time.

J. E.

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In the laboratory of world affairs. "The really hard nut to crack," a cartoon by R. O. Beig in *The Christian Science Monitor*.

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THE SOURCES AND THE USES OF
INFORMATION

Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war. ELIHU ROOT

CHAPTER

1

PAST AND PRESENT.
HISTORY AND NEWS

*I*T HAS been said, with much truth, that "we learn from history that we do not learn from history." It might be added, with equal truth, that we *could* learn from history lessons of the highest value to humanity if we had the wit and the will to do so.

We cannot learn from history or any of the social studies in the same way that we learn from several of the natural sciences, for both the means and the ends are different. In chemistry, for example, the student works in a compact laboratory with materials that can be relied upon to react in the same way whenever the same conditions are created. When an experimenter causes sulphur and iron to unite, the product is always iron sulphide.

In the social studies, some phases of which constitute the subject matter of the present course, the student has to consider human behavior, which, like the weather, is never certainly predictable. For the social studies the principal laboratory is the inhabited world. The materials for investigation may be anywhere, and the experiments may take place at any time or all the time. In human relations any situation occurs only once; it cannot be repeated exactly, like an experiment in chemistry; to profit by it as experiment or experience the record that may have been made of it must be relied upon. And the record of any event, ancient or current, is in some sense history. In



"What of the Night?" Europa studies the stars; the constellation of the Great Bear (which includes the Big Dipper) looms. The suggestion is that Russia is an important and inescapable factor in the affairs of Europe. This cartoon was drawn for *Punch* in 1886, by Sir John Tenniel. It would have been pertinent in the 1700's, in 1812, and in almost every decade of the past hundred years.

fact, the terms "current history" and "current events" are synonymous.

In a way current affairs are like a jigsaw puzzle — when one piece is turned the neighboring pieces must be moved. Thus, when Germany and Russia announced a working agreement in 1939, that event affected the policy of every important country in the world; and when Japan went to war with the United States on December 7, 1941, her action beyond reasonable

doubt committed Italy and Germany, both of which presently declared war on our country (page 313).

WHENCE AND WHITHER AND WHY

Current events are the most recent installment in the long serial story of mankind. To understand the present installment, we need at least a synopsis of what came before. Events occurring in chronological sequence have their relations; also events occurring contemporaneously have their bearings upon one another.

THE BEARINGS OF EVENTS

There is no getting away from the past. The way things go today will affect all the world's tomorrows. Single events can be compared to links in a chain. The first links in this chain of affairs or events have their anchorage in the past, even in the very distant past, and links will be added to that chain till time shall be no more.

For an instance, let us consider the case of Alsace and Lorraine, disputed provinces west of the Rhine. At the beginning of recorded history in western Europe hostile tribes were facing each other across the Rhine. In the earlier 1600's German power was well established to the west of the Rhine. Later, French authority was established eastward to the Rhine, partly by fair bargaining with German princes and partly by aggression. The slow process of French occupation of the region known as Alsace-Lorraine went on until the year 1808. In 1871 the Germans took Alsace-Lorraine away from France. In 1918 the French recovered it. In 1940 the Germans retook it. In 1945 the French once more secured possession of that same territory, which has been a shuttlecock between the peoples to the west and to the east of the Rhine throughout the Christian Era. Ancient greed and ancient vengefulness thus account for one of the curses that rest upon the family of nations.

SOURCES AND USES OF INFORMATION

The situation at one period is the basis for further developments, which in turn lead on to still later happenings. The conditions in the various parts of the world today are outgrowths of what has happened before. A person to whom the past is a closed book, unless he has exceptional natural insight, will find himself at a great disadvantage in judging the events of his own day.

HOW MUCH HISTORY?

How much knowledge of past events — that is, of history — is necessary for an understanding of present developments? It is humanly impossible to learn all history. For practical purposes you need to know the most significant of the events that have a direct bearing on present affairs. The obviousness of the influence of an event upon current affairs fades as the event retreats farther and farther into the past. The news of the past year embraces the record of many events that have a direct and important connection with the happenings of the moment. What about the events of fifty or a hundred years ago? The surrenders of 1945 remain vivid; but the armistices of 1918 are vaguely recalled. As one goes back through history there are a few high points of fact that continue to loom, still conditioning the terms upon which men and nations may live. But the necessary factual background tends to be restricted to fewer and fewer points, the remoter the era under consideration. Most past events are important to us inversely to their distance from us in time.

TURNING POINTS IN THE STORY OF THE RACE

There are periods of more than usual flux and change when the course of events sets the stage for the human drama during many years to follow. These periods are known as "critical"; they mark "crises" in human affairs. Such periods have been those of the Greco-Persian Wars a little more than twenty-four

hundred years ago; of the ruin of the Western Roman Empire some fifteen hundred years ago; of the rise of the Saracenic power in the seventh century; of the Norman domination of England, beginning in the eleventh century; of the French Revolution; of the American Revolution; and of the national and international upheavals that began (after long underground preparation) in 1914, continuing to this moment. A crisis may come in time of peace without resultant warfare; and sometimes the far-reaching importance of a crisis is not recognized by those who live through it. The economic crisis at the close of Hoover's Presidency and the beginning of Roosevelt's, followed by the launching of the New Deal, may come to be regarded as one of the great turning points in American history.

IMPORTANCE OF SETTLED PERIODS

Not all history is the story of crises. There have been successive decades, as during the reigns of the "five good emperors" of Rome (96 to 180 A.D.), in which life has continued without great disturbances and radical changes. An individual grew up, carried on his work, lived out his life; and his children and grandchildren after him lived much the same life. Even though the individual might with justice have complained of his lot, he was not subjected to the stress and strain of adjustment to a radically changing situation. Such quiet periods, if mind and morals are not stagnant, can be a great blessing for humanity. They provide opportunity for gradual change which may result in greater benefit than would come from sudden and violent revolution. The representative government and democratic privileges of the British are the result of eight hundred years of development. There have been civil wars and temporary interruptions of that development; but compared with the domestic history of most other nations, the story of England, or Great Britain, has been one of relative

SOURCES AND USES OF INFORMATION

tranquillity, and the political, economic, and social development has been gradual, the majority of all gains being held.

Greater progress in the arts and sciences can be realized when peace leaves people free to devote themselves to constructive pursuits. True, there is such a thing as stagnation — political, artistic, industrial, and moral. China for long centuries was a vast, quiet pool of humanity where little was lost and little progress was made. Within living memory the impact of new ideas has broken the calm of that pool into mighty waves.

Shallow theorists have praised war as an antidote to social stagnation. It is not that; it is, rather, the frightful expression of national and international ills. The ruin incident to war necessitates much work for the sole purpose of reconstruction, and consequently the energies of the people cannot be concentrated on developing a higher civilization.

THREE TYPES OF EVENTS

Whether of the individual or of all mankind, human life is made up of accumulated experiences — the many and varied incidents that happen day by day. It is often difficult to determine and trace the more important threads in the tangle of daily events and thus get some idea of the significance of what is going on. As an aid in dealing with that vast tangle, events may be grouped under three general heads. In our diagram below, the circle indicates the total of daily hap-



There is an essential unity of all events, we classify them for convenience in study and discussion

penings of all kinds. For purposes of explanation, happenings of one general character are placed together in the social group; others are placed in the economic group; still others, in the political group.

By *social* we mean all that pertains to groups of people. The question of an eight-hour day or a six-hour day for labor affects groups, and therefore that question is classed as social. The problem of providing general opportunity for recreation is social. Organizations and institutions come under the social classification. It is true that there is scarcely a social matter that does not have also its economic and political angle: in many cases it is a matter of emphasis, of immediate point of view, that determines the classification of an event. We may speak of the "economic approach" to a given situation, when that situation could equally well be approached from the social, or human, side.

By *economic* we mean that which primarily has to do with production, distribution, and consumption of goods. Matters pertaining to business or industry belong in the realm of economics. Thus the question of the length of the working day is economic as well as social, for it has a bearing on the cost of producing goods. Methods and costs of transportation, demand for coal, price of wheat, exports and imports of all kinds of products, and currency control are all primarily economic matters.

The third general classification, the *political* type, covers affairs that are primarily concerned with government. The laws passed by Congress and by state legislatures, the efforts of police to reduce crime, the maintenance of school systems and fire departments, elections, taxation — all these are manifestations of governmental activity, are all in some sense political matters. Most political affairs — perhaps all of them — have their social and economic sides, in that they affect people and business. The Reciprocal Trade Agreement between the United States and Canada of December, 1935, involves

SOURCES AND USES OF INFORMATION

both political and economic factors — national and international.

Sociology, economics, and government or politics have all been made separate subjects for study. In their writings — necessarily largely historical — the sociologist, the economist, and the student of government each follows with greatest zeal the thread of his special interest. As we study current events in the light of the past, let us remember that the social studies constitute a unit; the divisions of that unit are arbitrary, made for convenience in analysis.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CURRENT EVENTS

The Athenians heard the news of Marathon from the lips of a hero who ran himself to death to bring the message, "Victory is ours!" When victory in the World War of 1939 to 1945 was completed by the surrender of the Japanese, radio carried an eyewitness account of every move, on the instant, to all the world.

HOW NEWS REACHES US

Most of us get word of current developments in five rather clearly defined waves. First come the news broadcasts over the radio. In many instances these give us reports of events almost as soon as they occur. Indeed, as a result of the difference in time, we commonly get the early news of a day in Europe before we have begun to write that day's date in America.

Another news wave consists of the many daily papers that are rushed to our hands. The daily newspapers often can report only the first part of a story in one issue because the papers must go to press before the whole action has been completed.

The third news wave comes in the form of the weekly periodical. The weekly has the advantage over the daily paper of having more time and thus being able to await a more com-



"Radio!" A cartoon by Rollin Kuby.

plete rounding of events. Its editors have opportunity to get a clearer idea of the significance of developments, and only the more important of these are given space. Supplementing the weekly — we might say, "extra-illustrating it" — is the newsreel.

The monthly magazine provides the fourth wave of news — if we may still call it news. The magazines take only the very important stories; the articles they carry on current events have the benefit of some weeks' time and should present reasonably balanced treatments of their subjects.

Finally, the fifth wave of information reaches us in bound books. These should give the most careful presentations of recent as well as earlier episodes in the drama of the race. At some future date the major developments of the present time will be well told in adequate books. But people desire to know what is going on from moment to moment, so that they

SOURCES AND USES OF INFORMATION

will be able to judge how current events may affect their lives; therefore they will continue to tune in on news broadcasts and to catch the latest paper off the press.

PRESS AND RADIO AS MOLDERS OF THOUGHT

In the democratic nations, where there is freedom of expression, the newspapers, radio networks, and magazines have an enormous responsibility. They have a social duty to present the news fully, accurately, and fairly, giving the people opportunity to learn the facts that confront them. Each of these mediums to some extent interprets the news it conveys. Through a favorable or an antagonistic attitude toward a public question, any medium of news or publicity can exert great influence on the thoughts and actions of the citizenry, can influence and mold public opinion. The late Will Rogers said repeatedly, in the character which he popularized as that of the typical American, "All I know is what I read in the papers." He knew much more, of course. How the news of the government at Washington is presented makes a great difference in the popularity of the administration. Likewise, emphasis and interpretation may color the reports of happenings in other nations and influence the attitude of our people.

In governments ruled by dictators, the press is strictly censored and may print only the news that is approved by the department of "public enlightenment." In such countries the citizen can have only a very poor background for the study of current events; and if he does study them his very temporary background may become a stone wall.

PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

Some of the great metropolitan newspapers and a few weekly publications have correspondents abroad who supply them with exclusive news stories and columns of comment. But the vast majority of newspapers cannot afford to have their own report-

ers abroad and must depend for news on dispatches from one of three press associations. Quincy Howe provides a brief description of these organizations:¹

The Associated Press was founded in 1847; it has gone through several reorganizations, the last one in 1927. The United Press was founded in 1907 by the late E. W. Scripps, a great newspaper crusader who resented the idea of a news monopoly and insisted that news be sold for cash to all comers. A year after Scripps launched the United Press, Hearst launched the International News Service, also a frankly commercial news-gathering agency. Today the Scripps-Howard interests own the United Press, while International News Service has become the subsidiary of still another Hearst subsidiary — King Features.

The wide coverage of the Associated Press gives its reporters the inside track to almost all the biggest news stories. The Associated Press also has exclusive exchange arrangements with all the official and semiofficial news agencies abroad. These agencies, of course, hand out only what the government wants distributed, but in the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Finally, the Associated Press has the greatest wirephoto service in the world. This means that Associated Press newspapers get more and better pictures sooner than their competitors — a vital matter in building circulation.

Just as the Associated Press has enlivened its style in recent years, so its chief competitor, the United Press, has grown so fast that it is rapidly acquiring the curse of bigness which has hampered AP efficiency in the past. In other words, the two chief American news agencies are getting more and more alike. The third, International News Service, has also grown, but in recent years it has not kept pace with its rivals. A few figures will clarify the picture at this point.

The Associated Press spends \$11,000,000 a year collecting news. It leases 300,000 miles of telegraph wire in the United States alone. It releases 200,000 words of news a

¹ Howe, Quincy, *The News and How to Understand It*, pages 27-29. Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York; 1940. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

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day to its 1437 members. The United Press spends \$8,000,000 a year and leases 150,000 miles of wire in the United States. It sends out 150,000 words a day to 975 American newspapers and to more than 300 foreign newspapers, most of them in Latin America. The outbreak of the war cost the United Press most of its 200 European newspapers. International News Service leases 170,000 miles of wire and sends 150,000 words a day to 700 newspapers.

RADIO AND THE NEWS

Of the ways in which the radio networks parallel part of the service of newspapers, Mr. Howe has the following to say:²

News programs fall into three main categories. First, there are the straight news broadcasts, read by an announcer or a "newscaster" [These broadcasts are based on bulletins received over the ticker services of the three press associations]

Second, there are the news analysts, or commentators, as they are now called, some of whom specialize in forecasts, analysis, and news behind the news, but most of whom do little more than summarize the news bulletins, throwing in an occasional editorial comment. Although the radio commentator corresponds to the newspaper columnist, he keeps his own opinions much more in the background. What he exploits is not a point of view but a voice, a manner, a distinctive way of speaking.

Finally, to provide a clash of opinion, there is the forum, debate, or round-table type of program which has become increasingly popular and which specializes in opinion.

There are four major radio networks serving the nation. The Mutual system, with 318 coöperating stations, was made up by its member stations and is controlled by them. The Columbia system, with fewer affiliated stations than Mutual, handles a greater amount of commercial business. The same is true of the National Broadcasting Company, which is the oldest of the four major networks. It was developed after the First World War by the Radio Corporation of America.

² Howe, *op. cit.*, page 169.

Until January, 1942, the Radio Corporation of America — National Broadcasting Company (RCA-NBC) combination owned and operated two networks, known as the "Red" and the "Blue." The Federal Communications Commission regarded this single ownership of two important radio systems as monopolistic, and it pressed for dissolution. In January, 1942, RCA-NBC yielded to the government; it formed the Blue Network Company, Incorporated, as an entirely separate organization; then sold it to give it independent ownership. The name of this company has since been changed to "American Broadcasting Company."

To cover the entire radio field for some purposes, the National Association of Broadcasters was formed. The Association has drawn up a code of regulations, which consists largely in a statement of ethical principles in their application to broadcasting. The Federal Communications Commission, appointed by the President, issues licenses for stations and may act for "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." American radio has enjoyed great freedom compared with radio in most other countries.

BOOKS IN RELATION TO CURRENT EVENTS

The point of view, the purpose, revealed in any book, like the style of a hat or a piano, reflects the time and place in which the book was produced. An author of worth certainly presents his own ideas, but they cannot help being colored by current modes of thought. The printed words speak only up to the date of printing. A book published in 1944 would contain nothing about the atomic bomb and the problems to which it gave rise.

In every American copyrighted book the copyright notice and the date of original publication are printed, usually on the back of the title page. The title page often bears the date of printing, which may be misleading, as there may be repeated printings of the text, without revision, during a number of

years. If in picking up a book you will note the date of first copyright, which is the date of original publication, and if you will note also any possible reference to revision at a later date, you may be saved confusion.

In writings of different dates concerning Germany — or concerning any other country, for that matter — varying attitudes will necessarily be expressed. In the 1700's the French philosopher Voltaire observed, "France rules the land; England rules the sea; and Germany rules the clouds." There was no air power in those days: Voltaire was speaking figuratively. As he saw it, the best German minds were being applied to philosophy in one branch or another — not to the art of military or naval conquest. One hundred years later the German military machine was so feared and hated that non-German writers found it difficult to give Germans of any period credit for contributions to civilization. Ten years after the World War of 1914 to 1918 had been concluded, Germany was in good standing as a member of the League of Nations, and much that was friendly was written about the country. Another five years passed, Adolf Hitler came into power, and journalists and publicists in the free countries became increasingly — and quite understandably — antagonistic toward things German.

In attempting to evaluate a book as an aid in your quest for truth, consider whether it was written during a time when thinking was likely to be warped by passions or during a time — and in a place — favorable to dispassionate thinking. A book is a product of its time, and the date of publication tells us that time.

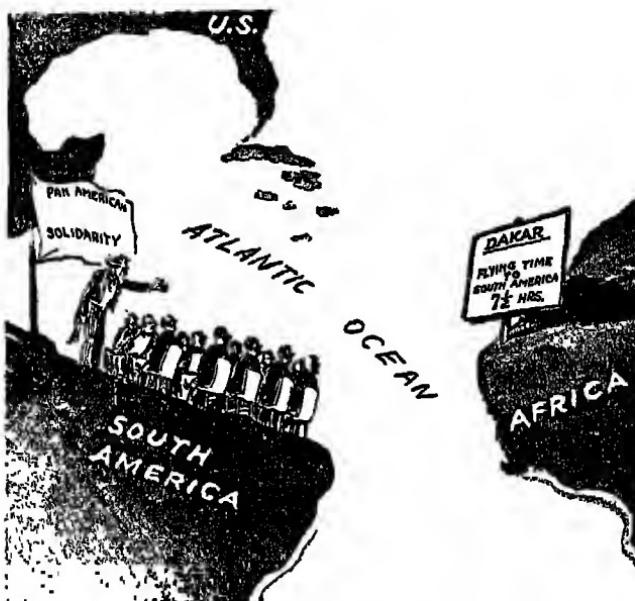
Even in tranquil periods a timely book on political and economic subjects may go out of date very quickly; for the situations discussed soon change and new developments make the work incomplete. And in periods of great change there are much confusion and extraordinary difference of opinion. Books written in the midst of critical periods are likely to reflect the insecure feeling of the times.

The student must realize that when a book closes — whatever its date — it leaves the further developments of the subject to be followed through the reading of newspapers, magazine articles, and perhaps more recent books. More events of first-rate importance have happened in the past few critical years than happened in generations during some periods of the Middle Ages. With much going on, intellectual alertness and a fair knowledge of historical, sociological, and economic backgrounds are at a special premium.

PERSONALITIES IN THE NEWS

A nation acts through its highest-ranking officials. The President of the United States is the one political spokesman for the entire American people in dealing with all the other peoples of the world, and in that capacity alone his power is immense. Students of national and international affairs follow closely the expressed ideas and policies of the President and of all other important leaders in the governments of the nations. In reading about current developments, note carefully any information concerning leaders, their careers, and the positions they occupy. Link with each name the action reported in the news. Look carefully at the spelling of the name, and when you see or hear the correct pronunciation take pains to fix that too in your memory. Most of the names that we fail to remember we never paid much attention to in the first place. When you meet with the name of an important person for the second time, you should be able instantly to recognize it and recall some fact about the person. It will be well worth the necessary effort for you to build a background of information about the leading men and women of our day.

Some persons remain prominent for years, until every reasonably well-informed person becomes familiar with their major purposes. When a new celebrity appears, newspapers and radio give information about that person and the alert student is enabled to form opinions concerning him.



"Gentlemen, let's face the facts" A cartoon by Daniel Bishop in the St. Louis *Star-Times*. Uncle Sam invites the attention of the New World republics to a fact of elementary geography which is also an outstanding fact in world affairs — the proximity of westernmost Africa to easternmost South America. In wartime that proximity is likely to be a menace. In peacetime it is rather an invitation to trade. (See page 259.)

THE BEARING OF GEOGRAPHY

To have an idea of geographical location is essential to understanding events of the past and of the present. When you take into account the fact that the Philippine Islands lie on the way from Japan to Singapore, you realize why Japan considered them a stumbling block to her ambitions for Greater East Asia and why she struck at them in one of her first acts of warfare against the United States. When you see that Switzerland is wedged in between Germany and Italy, you realize the better why the government of Switzerland was careful not to antagonize either Germany or Italy. If you read that the Russians have

a war base at "Vladivostok" and have no idea whether that is the name of a mountain or a city or a lake, or whether it is in Asia or in Europe, you cannot grasp the significance of the fact in connection with the affairs of the Far East. So much information is concentrated on maps that you need to study them repeatedly. Look carefully at the names and the way they are spelled, so that you can remember them. Besides giving names and locations, maps in large measure indicate the character of the land — certainly to those who are able to interpret them. Through geography and the maps that are inseparable from that subject you can gain appreciable insight into the basic situations of different peoples.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Name half a dozen different subjects in the social studies. Describe briefly each of these subjects. All of them deal with some phase of what great general theme?
2. Point out basic differences between the social studies and the natural sciences. Give examples to illustrate your meaning.
3. It has been said that all scientific research laboratories ought to be closed for ten years to allow the social studies time to catch up. Of course, the suggestion was not meant to be taken literally; but what was meant?
4. What advantages and disadvantages can you see in living in a tense, changing period like the present? in living in a comparatively stable time with few changes?
5. What is meant by a crisis? It has been said that a critical period is not only a time of danger but also a time of opportunity. What does this mean?
6. Give examples of events that we think of as being in the sociological field; in the economic field; in the political field. Can examples of each type of event be given that do not involve the other types? If this classification is overlapping, what is the advantage in using it?
7. Name the three American press associations. Which is the oldest? the youngest? What are some of the services that these press associations render?
8. What is meant by objective thinking?

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9. Explain in what way the citizens in a democratic nation have a much heavier direct responsibility than those in a dictatorship.
- 10 Discuss the newsreel as a source of information on current events. Of what value may it be? What are its limitations?
11. Time was when the geography of the remote interior of South America was of more practical interest than the geography of the Arctic regions. Now Arctic geography is of the very greatest concern. Give several good reasons for this shift in interest.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. List a dozen major events of history that one ought to know about, the better to understand current developments.
2. Make a list of a dozen of the more prominent leaders in the present world. What has each done and why is he outstanding?
3. Make a freehand outline map of Europe. Without looking at a reference map, see if you can locate correctly within your outline four rivers, three mountain chains, two seas or bays, and ten important cities. Do the same for South America; for the other continents.
4. Check the newspapers that are read by members of the class; list the press associations represented, and note the columnists regularly read.
5. Make a schedule for a week, showing the radio news reports and comments that can be heard in your locality.
6. Pick out several radio news broadcasters and news commentators, and follow them regularly for a time. It may be well to follow one group for two weeks, then another group for two weeks, since there are so many to listen to. Attend carefully to learn the special characteristics of the different radio speakers. It is necessary to choose discriminatingly from among the babel of voices on the air.
7. Start a limited clipping file. Keep loose clippings in an envelope. Some find it convenient to paste a rather large envelope on the inside back of a loose-leaf notebook, with the open side of the envelope toward the back of the book so that clippings cannot fall out. Sort over your clippings every few weeks and throw away those that have no continuing value.

CHAPTER 2

THE FORMATION OF OPINION

*P*UBLIC opinion rules that part of the world where democracy prevails. In a dictator country there is neither freedom of speech nor of the press; the government is run like a ventriloquist's show, and the citizens have about as much influence on the conduct of affairs as so many yessing puppets. In a democracy each citizen has a part in public opinion and in public affairs; he has a measure of responsibility, however slight, for whatever is done; and he has a great responsibility for the quality of his opinion. He should see to it that it is based on sound information and on his own right thinking. He should spurn any thought of band-wagon guidance, of trying to side in with what appears to be the majority, simply because he loves much company.

THE INDIVIDUAL AS ADAPTER OF INFORMATION

No matter how conscientiously a person may try to avoid doing so, he cannot help coloring in some degree every bit of information he assimilates; he cannot get away from his own self, from his own background.

THE READER'S OR LISTENER'S PERSONALITY

A daily paper carries a news story about a truck of eggs turned over in a city street. One reader will immediately note the number of cases of eggs destroyed and compute approximately

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the loss in money. Another will feel sorry for the driver because the mishap may cost him his job. Another will wonder if someone was hurt and traffic blocked. And one with a crude and robust sense of the ridiculous will perhaps burst into loud laughter and observe, "What a mess that must have been!" The words in the account are the same to each reader; the responses are as different as if there were four different stories.

The reader or listener, like a traveler, is constantly receiving impressions and is modifying them, amplifying them, as he draws upon his own store of facts. "To him that hath shall be given." A person with a rich and varied background gets far more satisfaction from reading than does his neighbor who has a more limited store of facts. The informed person reads between the lines — he supplies what the writer may have omitted, whether accidentally or purposely; and he judges the writer's ability and honesty, as well as the worth of his subject matter itself.

BIAS AS THE RESULT OF BACKGROUND

Individual slant, or bias, arises largely out of circumstances. Several years ago a girl student in Holland, writing to an American girl student in the Mississippi Valley, asked her if she often went to New York City for week-end trips. The Dutch girl could reach any place in her country within a day or two on her bicycle, and she took it for granted that in other countries much the same situation existed. We in the United States often are not conscious of the fact that the size and resources of the United States are far greater than those of any nation in western Europe. Most of the nations in western Europe are no larger than our middle-sized states. Europeans, in turn, are amazed upon their first journey across the United States at the size, the natural grandeur, and the resources of this country. It is easy to think of other people and places in terms of our own experiences.

As an individual matures intellectually, he views himself and the special circumstances of his life more and more objectively.

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27.9.1955.

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Consciously he makes increasing allowance for what might be unwarranted bias in his particular case; as he does so the quality of his opinion improves, and his contribution to many-eyed, many-handed Public Opinion becomes more effective.



There can be no public opinion worthy of the name in a country where the basic freedoms — of speech, of the press, of assembly, of religion — do not prevail. In this cartoon from the London *Daily Express* the artist has put his finger on the most essential point of difference between tyranny and freedom, autocracy and democracy — whether or not there is freedom of speech. (See page 87)

THE POINT OF VIEW

There are wide differences in the ways people look at things; that is, in their points of view. How it happens that persons in the same general situation may develop widely different points of view is a complex study in itself, with which we need not concern ourselves here. Point of view is implicit in every expression of opinion or of purpose. It is a matter of attitude, of approach. On a political question there is always the conservative point of view and the liberal point of view. The often-quoted lines from the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta *Iolanthe* tell us —

That every boy and every gal
Who's born into this world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative.

One writer is very conservative; he will be expected to criticize many new developments; and as a rule he does criticize them. Another writer is a great admirer of this or that

foreign nation; or he has an affiliation with somebody that stands strongly for one principle or another. If you know his special admiration or his special commitment, you are in a better position to judge his writing. A newspaper or a magazine also has its established policy, its point of view. The owners and editors determine that policy, which influences the selection and treatment of news in the paper. In their turn the buyers of papers and magazines commonly and naturally enough favor those that present the point of view that they themselves entertain.

Many controversies arise where there is no real dispute about the facts involved but where there is a fundamental difference in point of view. Determine as promptly as you can just what is a writer's or a speaker's point of view; consider whether he is in some sense a hired advocate, a mercenary soldier, for this or that theory; then you will be in much better position to judge his offering.

ATTITUDE; EMOTIONAL SETUP

Not quite the same as point of view is the habit of mind of an individual: firm or flexible, highly emotional or stable.

There is a well-known saying that the word "firm" can be declined as follows: I am firm, thou art obstinate, he is pig-headed. That is a simple illustration of what is meant. "Firm," "obstinate," and "pigheaded" all have the same objective meaning — that is, following one's own course of action and refusing to be influenced by other people's opinions. They have, however, different emotional meanings: "firm" has an emotional meaning of strong approval, "obstinate" of mild disapproval, "pigheaded" of strong disapproval.

Once we are on the lookout for this difference between "objective" and "emotional" meanings, we shall notice that words which carry more or less strong suggestions of emotional attitudes are very common.¹

¹ Thouless, Robert Henry, *How to Think Straight*, pages 4-5. Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York; 1939 Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BASIC CONVICTIONS

Some years ago it was generally taken for granted that if people became informed, great social benefits would necessarily result; that if they knew the facts, they could and would sift truth from error and act accordingly; that if they became better acquainted through travel and communication, they would understand one another better and be more considerate in their relations. More recently there has been a growing realization that facts and information, important as they are, do not automatically solve the problems of mankind. "Man is as God made him, and oftentimes a great deal worse," says Cervantes. There is an inertia of the individual and an inertia of the race, difficult to overcome. Yet we know that individuals can and do better their ways; that the world does indeed move.

The mainspring of individual action lies in the deep feelings and convictions of the individual, in the permanent warp — whether for good or ill — that heredity and environment may have given to his personality. But warp or no warp, the same individual has a tremendous responsibility for his actions and his thoughts, that they shall be right. There are those who will argue plausibly that we are what we are because of forces over which we have no control; in effect, that there can be no such thing as right, no such thing as wrong. It's a poor gospel, a poor excuse from individual responsibility. Some things are right, such as honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, devotion to family, and desire to do one's share of the world's work; the opposites of these are wrong. Their morals and ideals determine, even constitute, the real quality of people. In times when so much that seemed well established is shifting and passing, when there is great strain on all men, it is more than ever necessary to have and to develop character that is founded on positive and worthy convictions.

THE APPRAISAL OF INFORMATION

If one thinks, he must think about something. Facts provide the material for thinking. They are the units with which one builds ideas, and ideas can be no better than the facts on which they rest.

TESTING FOR TRUTH

One must constantly be on the alert to judge whether any given statement is demonstrably true. "Mussolini conquered Ethiopia in 1935 to 1936": that is an established fact. "Ethiopia has great undeveloped resources": that at best is a guess, because the land has not been thoroughly examined and no one can yet know the extent of its resources.

The student, or any other citizen, needs to learn to look closely at statements presented to him as facts. The first check is to note the source of a statement. If the *New York Times* presents information without qualification, the reader can feel that the matter is probably reliable, because that paper has the reputation of being dependable. If a sensational journal makes a statement, whether defamatory or laudatory, about a person or a cause, the reader can have no assurance concerning the underlying facts. As one gains knowledge of the reliability of sources and adds experience in judging them, it becomes a habit immediately to think, "Well, where does this statement come from?"

A second check on the reliability of a statement consists in reference to recognized authority. The libraries are full of reference books which make it easy in many cases to find out if a statement is true. It is amazing how many supposed facts prove to be false when actually looked into and checked. Yet even statements in works of reference are not infallible. The reader will sense, on occasion, that a work of reference needs to be checked by another work, touching a particular topic.

THE PITFALL OF WISHFUL THINKING

Totally opposed to the judicial attitude is wishful thinking. Partisanship may be founded on sound reasoning to a right decision; but wishful thinking is always the way of weakness, the way of the ostrich in the fable. All of us are guilty of it in some degree. Because we wish to believe this or that, we have a special readiness to accept reports that fit in with our prejudices or with our imagined self-interest. We try to avoid what is unpleasant and therefore are inclined to push aside or discount disagreeable reports. Many persons choose their reading with an eye to getting the kind of reports they can feel happy about. Wishful thinking may give a person a false sense of security. It is most insidious when a person does not realize that he indulges in self-delusion. The only satisfactory way to deal with facts however disagreeable, in the news or elsewhere, is to face them courageously.

THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN FACT AND OPINION

Opinions are fairly settled notions about this thing and that thing. In articles and speeches there is frequent use of both fact and opinion. It is well to keep a sharp watch when the formulas "I think," "It seems to me," "In my judgment," appear. An adroit special pleader usually tucks in such a little statement to make a loophole of escape in case his "opinion" turns out to be a bad guess. A conscientious writer or speaker will conspicuously label his opinion for what it is. Personal opinion may be wise or foolish, but bear in mind that even well-founded opinion is not the same thing as fact.

People are intensely interested in the future and how it will affect them; and writers, radio commentators, and lecturers play upon this deep-seated desire to know what is going to happen. Notice carefully that when one of them indulges in forecasting the news he invariably qualifies and limits his statement. This or that will take place "if present conditions continue," or "unless some unforeseen development occurs," or "ac-

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cording to present reports," or "if this is true." Prophecy is perilous.

Check on a writer or a speaker, follow him up to see how his statements look in the light of later developments; that is, determine his accuracy or his honesty by the simple expedient of remembering what he has said.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

It is essential to have in mind the order of development in a given chain of facts. No straight thinking or right understanding concerning historical facts, new or old, can exist without a knowledge of what happened first and what came later. But when there is an understanding of the step-by-step developments in the order of their occurrence, it is not necessary to remember all the exact dates. There are a few dates, however, that everyone should know and that every informed person does know. These key dates serve as signposts.

There were wars among the Balkan nations in 1912 and 1913. In place of arbitrarily remembering the dates 1912 and 1913, one may to advantage fix in mind the fact that these particular Balkan wars occurred on the eve of the World War of 1914 to 1918. A date to be remembered is 1931, for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria; following that year there was a long list of Japanese aggressions, culminating in the surprise attack on the United States in 1941. When one date stands for two events of the first importance, it is well to fix both these events firmly in mind in connection with that date. Thus 1789 marked the beginning of government under the Constitution in the United States and also the beginning of the French Revolution.

In the presentation of history there is perhaps an over-tendency to assign definite dates. Even when there was no one year in which, precisely, a momentous change took place, a date is arbitrarily given. One of the best instances of the kind is the fixing of the year 476 A.D. as the date of the fall of

the original Roman Empire. What took place in that year was the action of Odoacer, a barbarian chieftain at the moment master of Italy, in dethroning the last titular Roman Emperor in the West and openly taking the management of affairs into his own hands. At no particular year in history did the people of Italy or of Europe say to themselves, "The Empire of our fathers has at length, in our time, come to an end." The date 476 has its warrant, its usefulness; but one might as well not know it as not know the measure of its significance.

It is convenient to say that in 1929 a great economic depression settled down upon this country: that date has been generally accepted and serves its purpose. But changes in social and economic life are generally spread over a considerable length of time; and while a specific date may be given for this or that development, the date is used for convenience, and the reader must understand that a *development* does not happen all at once like an *event*, such as an earthquake.

Even with reference to some well-known or reasonably well-known events, authorities seem never to agree on which of two or more dates to assign. The date of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain is often given as 1794, the year of its negotiation; often also the date is given as 1795, the year of ratification. In the law the date of a treaty between two countries is the date of ratification by the second country; but writers on historical matters do not consistently take that into account. The important thing is for the student to know what a particular date really stands for; otherwise the date alone can have but little significance. It is better to be intelligent about dates, to know the time sequence, than to be able arbitrarily to remember many dates.

THE DANGER OF OVER-SIMPLIFICATION

On every hand we over-simplify reports and issues, as well as dates. People are in a hurry and have little patience with reading details. Public attention is elusive, and writers and

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speakers make every effort to catch it. In place of a study or a discussion they present a diagram that can be grasped almost immediately. In place of detailed tables they give readers easily grasped charts or graphs. All such devices have their place. Diagrams are extremely useful in presenting the main idea, but of necessity they leave out the exceptions and the fine detail. In this book diagrams are given, as well as other devices — all simplifications. The possibility of wrong conclusions does not arise from the mere fact of simplification but from the fact that omissions may result in distortion.

Statements made too simple or too sweeping are bound to convey some measure of misrepresentation. "I said in my haste, All men are liars." King David, or whoever it really was that wrote that sentence in the Scriptures, understood the principle. Over-statements that convey half truths may be much more difficult to spot than complete falsehoods. The best way to guard against being led astray by over-simplification, by too much generalization, is to be always conscious of the danger.

THE RECOGNITION AND APPRAISAL OF PROPAGANDA

A word that was rarely used in other times, except in connection with the propagation of the Christian religion, came into extremely common use during the World War of 1914 to 1918, and it has been current ever since. That word is "propaganda." It is now used in reference to informational matter that is presented at the instance of a group, small or large, with the purpose of presently changing the ideas and the actions of men and women. It is, in fact, a form of advertising, and certainly much of it ought to be paid for and labeled as advertising.

There is also counter-propaganda. From 1914 to 1917 there was released in this country a torrent of propaganda in favor of the Allies who were fighting against Germany. And there was a lesser flood of propaganda paid for by the Ger-

mans, the purpose of which was to counteract the Allied propaganda. One side and the other bought or founded this paper and that to carry its special pleading. When the affiliation of a propaganda publication was known, that was not so bad; but much propaganda matter was carried, innocently or otherwise, by established newspapers and periodicals. Such matter might have had a more insidious effect than professed propaganda. In connection with the World War of 1939 to 1945, a measure of propaganda supported from overseas was conducted among us — but certainly nothing to be compared with that which took place in 1914 to 1917. Whatever the reason for this may have been, the effect was fortunate; when the war came to us after two years, we met the situation with unclouded eyes.

There is propaganda in favor of this or that political or economic theory or device; for one group and another that has a special interest; even on behalf of a person whose wealth may make it possible for him to employ a public-relations expert or staff.

There may be propaganda for a good cause as well as for a bad cause or a doubtful one, even as there may be advertising for worthy products as well as for valueless or harmful ones. Propaganda for a doubtful cause is likely to be directed to the emotions rather than to the intelligence. Exaggeration and partial misrepresentation, as well as wholly false statements, are used to convince or frighten people into thinking, or rather feeling, in a particular way.

The important thing is to recognize propaganda for what it is, and then, having recognized it, to give it weight merely as the presentation of one side of a case. You are the judge.

DOCTORED INFORMATION

In nations at war, censorship and wartime propaganda may impair the reliability of reports and cut down the volume of genuine news. The official bureau of information of one

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country or another issues approved government reports; and, as far as these go, they ordinarily stand the test of later reports. In the late war, reports of huge enemy losses issued by the press services of different belligerents failed to impress people greatly, for the reason that they were generally suspected to be a part of the war of words.

In our own country a "voluntary censorship" was considered necessary. Our great press agencies followed official suggestions in withholding from immediate publication information that might have had value to the Axis Powers.

"On reliable authority" is an expression that may indicate that the source of a report is some high official who did not wish to lend his name or involve his government. Or the expression may indicate that the report is a "trial balloon." A trial-balloon report or comment is loosed so that the reaction of the public or of other nations may be noted. If the reaction is adverse, then no major policy along the suggested line will follow.

Much of the doctored information that is afloat you can promptly discount or discard completely, if you will judge every statement in the light of what you already know to be fact.

A PATTERN FOR JUDGING ISSUES

Dr. Walter E. Myer, publisher of *The American Observer*, suggests a method for the student to follow in judging current controversies: consider the various suggested proposals and try to figure out the probable or possible results of each line of action; then compare those probable results. Which proposal will be likely to work out to the greatest social benefit and involve the least risk of unfortunate consequences? Suppose that tariff revision is the burning issue before the nation. Several different propositions may stand out in the Congressional debates. Study each of them in the light of the best information available, and try to figure out which proposi-

tion will in the long run serve the best interests of the nation, taking into account its relations with other nations.

Weighing each possible course in terms of probable results will promote — indeed, it largely constitutes — judicial thinking. Consider thus, and study, any issue of the moment. Follow the development of that issue, and finally note what may be the end of the matter. One will figure, or guess, wrong on occasion; but there need be no embarrassment over that, unless one has talked long and loudly on wrong assumptions.

SUSPENDED JUDGMENT

On many subjects you do not have available enough facts or you lack some of the key facts, so that you are not justified in coming to a definite conclusion. Some of our most intelligent and best-informed citizens are the very ones who will honestly say that at this or that point they cannot draw a conclusion. They will say that they must suspend judgment. When they do know the facts and have worked out their ideas on a subject, then and only then do they go on record, expressing their judgment.

In Palestine there have been serious troubles between Jews and Arabs. Great Britain has had ultimate political control over Palestine since 1919, when the Holy Land was made a British mandate under the League of Nations. For the unrest there, does the blame fall upon the British, the Jews, the Arabs, or upon troublemakers from outside? Or should the blame be apportioned among different parties? Or is there some fundamental source of difficulty before which British, Jews, and Arabs all in a measure stand helpless? In order to consider the problem you need to know what has been happening in Palestine through the years, even through the centuries. You need also to know something of the grounds for unrest and of the desires and hopes of the conflicting groups. And then, humbly, you may make a tentative judgment.

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It is easy to jump to a conclusion, like a grasshopper; and the grasshopper never knows where he will land. The making of decisions with little or no consideration is bad; yet the opposite fault of never making up one's mind may be little better — even worse in some situations. Persons who lack capacity for positive action are at best inert members of society. And those who are never clear on what they believe are anchored to nothing solid in the way of basic convictions; their judgment, if any, is negative and generally worthless. One should seek a middle ground somewhere between hasty decision and habitual indecision.

Stand by your tentative conclusion on a matter until new facts come to your knowledge or new circumstances develop. These may compel another conclusion. Ability to suspend judgment is a most important item of equipment for the art of right thinking.

Keep in mind the wise observation of the celebrated French mathematician, Jules Henri Poincaré: "To doubt everything and to believe everything are equally convenient solutions; both save us from thinking."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The soundest history of any war cannot be written while the war is going on. It will be written after the return of peace, when the passions of war have cooled but before important records have been lost. Why is it almost impossible to write sound history in wartime?
2. The wartime diary or journal of a soldier is generally more dependable than the living memory of that soldier many years after the events that may be inquired into. Why? Compare a civilian and a soldier or a sailor with respect to the freedom of action that each has given up during the present war.
3. Why do even the freest peoples voluntarily relinquish some of their liberties, for a time, when the national existence is imperiled? Mention some of the liberties that are put partly or wholly in abeyance in times of war.

4. Privileges are coupled with responsibilities. What does that mean for the citizen in his relation to his country? Mention cases in point.
5. Freedom of expression — of speech and of the press — is the cornerstone of all freedom. Why is this the case?
6. To what extent was censorship applied by our government during 1941 to 1945? Why was this necessary? Why did the American people neither fear nor greatly resent the kind of censorship that prevailed?
7. What is suspended judgment? How can this device defeat its own ends?
8. Compare the character of propaganda in nations under dictatorship with the character of propaganda in nations having representative government.
9. In what ways can you guard against being misled by propaganda?
10. Give ten dates that informed people are assumed to know.
11. Why are rather arbitrary dates chosen for some occurrences or movements? Give examples.
12. James Bryce in his book entitled *The American Commonwealth* noted that under Abraham Lincoln the Presidency had attained its maximum exercise of powers (until Bryce's time) and that under Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's immediate successor, the Presidency had sunk to the lowest level of authority. Bryce observed that there was greatness in a people who could let executive authority rise so high among them and yet remain fully able, at will, to lessen that authority. What is the pertinency, the importance, of all this at the present time?
13. Consider public-opinion polls — how they are conducted, the degree of accuracy they seem to attain, the character of their influence.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. From current newspapers and magazines cut clippings, or copy paragraphs, as examples of each of the following:

(a) Point of view	(e) Available facts sustaining, or not sustaining, an opinion
(b) Over-simplification	
(c) Suspended judgment	
(d) Propaganda	(f) Wishful thinking
2. List two or more leading newspapers of your state. What is the political bias, if any, of these newspapers?

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3. Make a chart to show how your leading local papers cover news of public affairs. A form for such a chart is suggested below. Note whether news is covered by syndicated articles or by special correspondents; also how many times a month such news features appear.

OUR LOCAL PAPERS

NAME AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION	STATE POLITICAL NEWS	WASHINGTON NEWS	FOREIGN NEWS
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____



»» II ««

THE MODERN NATIONS: THEIR GOVERN-
MENTS AND THEIR PEOPLES

Mutual fructifying cannot take place without national individuality. I cannot look forward with any enthusiasm to a time when the world may become one great community with but one language. I am afraid it would be a drab-colored world. FRIDTJOF NANSEN

CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE

*M*AN HAS always lived in groups. From the beginning of the race there has been the family group. After the family came the clan; after the clan, the tribe; after the tribe, the nation. Always there has been something in the way of organization and leadership in the group to function as a kind of government. In early groups there were customs that had the force of law. Individual members had to conform to the practices of the group, which were designed primarily for the preservation of the group and incidentally for the preservation of the individual thereof. If they did not conform, they were likely to die at the hands of hostile clansmen or at the hands of their fellow clansmen.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A NATION

As primitive groups grew in size and learned to domesticate animals and to plant crops, the duties and organization of government were broadened to meet the new conditions of life.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP GOVERNMENT

With a more settled existence the ideas of personal property and of ownership in land developed. Through the centuries a major duty of government has been to protect life and property — to afford police protection. The extension of tribal

power and later of national power by conquest or by alliance further extended governmental activity. Government and social organization may be expected to be simple or to be complex, depending upon the size, the resources, and the needs of the group.

SOVEREIGNTY

The dictionary gives several definitions of the broad term "nation." However, when we use the term we generally mean a sovereign state, and in that sense it is used in this book. A sovereign state is a nation that has its rulership in its own hands. It is a free country in that no other country exercises controlling power over it. Theoretically, a sovereign state, or a sovereignty, is subject to no power save that of the Supreme Being; its government is amenable to no earthly control but that of the people or their own rulers. Practically, every nation has some strings tied to its sovereign power — treaty obligations, for one thing.

THE REAL BEGINNING OF MODERN TIMES AND MODERN NATIONS

The typical nation of our day has resulted from the centralization of government — the extension of sovereign power — and the binding together of the citizenry by ties of interest and sentiment. The typical nation as we know it is a very modern development, the product of some two centuries of change in all departments of life, such as the world never knew in earlier ages.

AGES OF LITTLE CHANGE

If one of King Harold's bowmen who died defending England against the Normans in 1066 had come back to life in England a couple of hundred years ago, he would have been surprised at the changes in speech and in costume; but once he had learned modern English he could have adjusted himself readily. If a farmer, he would have been able to take hold

promptly and helpfully at plowing and sowing and harvesting; if a miller, he would have needed very little new instruction to make himself highly useful. The greater abundance of metals and the increased use of machines — not very complicated — would have been a nine days' wonder to him, not more. He would have marveled at powder and ball replacing the longbow; but he would soon have found that the arts of war and conquest and government had not changed radically.

If our old bowman of Hastings had happened to come back to life one hundred years ago, instead of two hundred years ago, he would have found the world vastly altered as the result of political revolutions and reforms and mostly, perhaps, as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

James Watt's improvements on Newcomen's steam engine, patented by Watt in the 1760's, made possible the full tide of the Industrial Revolution. That Revolution, which continues into our day, changed the way of life for people in western Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world from a relatively simple agricultural system to the highly complex and interdependent industrial system that we are living under today. It brought economic, military and naval, political, and social consequences that have deluged mankind with problems that it may take ages to solve.

One could argue plausibly that modern times did not begin in 1492 with Columbus's discovery of America, nor yet in 1453 (the fall of Constantinople), nor in 1648 (the Treaty of Westphalia, marking the end of the Thirty Years' War), as one historian and another would have it, but in the 1760's with the Industrial Revolution.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

There are those who would choose 1789 as the date marking the advent of modern times. That was the year when

the French Revolution, *the* Revolution, began. The revolutionary movement marked the beginning of the end of medieval social and political systems on the continent of Europe. "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" became established as ideals in quarters where such notions had not been voiced before.

The French Revolution was brought within bounds and given a new direction by Napoleon, who nevertheless extended its principles of personal liberty and equal justice to country after country that he brought under his power. And Napoleon, engaged in a major war with Great Britain, was finally beaten, it has been said, through the wealth that the British derived from Watt's steam engine. Modern Europe has run its course in the way it has, largely owing to the influence of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

As the United States, through no seeking of their own, are forced more and more into the position of world leadership, the turning points in our history take on added importance. Men recall that our Revolution was a curtain raiser for the French Revolution. It occurs to them also that the date 1789 marks the inauguration of our present national government as well as the beginning of the French Revolution. The American Revolution made possible the ultimate firm union of forty-eight states in the wealthiest and most powerful of nations. And here the steam engine, the dynamo, the motor, the gas engine, the turbine, and all the rest of the genii of the Industrial Revolution have been active as in no other land.

THE MATTER OF DEMOCRACY

"Democracy" is an ancient Greek word changed very slightly in its spelling – from "demokratia" – and not at all in its meaning. Rivers of ink and forests of printing paper have been used in making books about democracy and its meaning;

but no definition has been arrived at that is better than Lincoln's: "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Opposed to democratic government is every other form of government. Nations may be classified as those whose governments are essentially democratic and those whose governments are not democratic.

DEMOCRACY AMONG THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

The English people have a tradition of democracy that goes back to the Angles, Saxons, and other tribesmen from across the North Sea who mastered southern Britain at the time of the breakup of the Roman Empire in the West, some fifteen hundred years ago. The long story of English democracy is filled with ups and downs; it is marked by hard-won gains that were fairly well held by the people; and it shows no violent break with the past at any given time such as occurred in France beginning in 1789. To this day democracy is imperfect in England, as it must always be everywhere; but the British nation can be classed as definitely democratic in the attitude of its peoples and in the cast of its government.

Our country, stemming off from England politically, has been predominantly democratic from the beginning. And the same thing may be said about all the self-governing units within the British Empire. In these new countries class distinction and other forms of undemocratic social and political privilege, which had grown up long ago in the mother country, never could take firm root.

DEMOCRACY AMONG THE FRENCH

France of old had ideals and traditions of democracy; but democracy was pretty well extinguished under the Bourbon kings. Then came the Revolution, which in a short period and with extreme violence abolished the special privileges of royalty and nobility and set up, for a time, a form of govern-

MODERN NATIONS: GOVERNMENTS – PEOPLES



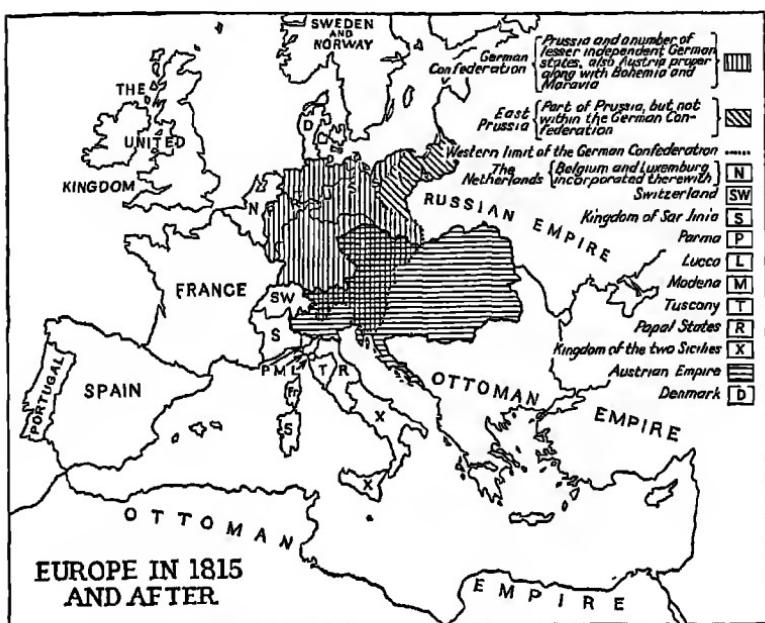
Europe at the height of Napoleon Bonaparte's power. Note that Napoleon controlled directly the coasts of Belgium, Holland, and the German lowlands to Denmark; that indirectly he controlled Denmark and Norway. Why did enemy control of those coasts menace Great Britain less at that time than enemy control of those coasts menaced her in World War II? Note the limited area of Napoleon's puppet Kingdom of Italy. Note that all Germany was at the moment subject to Napoleon or in alliance with him. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw represented a halfway restoration of Poland by Napoleon. The Ottoman Empire—Turkey—still ruled, or nominally ruled, southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, Arabia, and the whole northern coast of Africa.

ment so radical that it was something less than democratic. France suffered many vicissitudes through the actions of usurpers and conquerors after 1789; but at the beginning of this century she stood forth a strong republic, accepted by British and Americans as a fellow democratic nation.

EUROPE AFTER THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

It has been said that the history of modern Europe is written in the history of France. Revolutionary turmoil in Paris in [42]

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT - BALANCE OF POWER



Europe as the Congress of Vienna rearranged the map. Compare this map with the map on page 42. Note the extension of the territories of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Note also the multiplicity of states, or nations, the lack of unity in the Italian peninsula; the absence of any Polish state. France proper was not partitioned. Great Britain acquired nothing in Europe except the island of Malta, which was important to her naval power in the Mediterranean.

1789 (likewise in 1830 and in 1848) was directly reflected in disturbances abroad. The French Revolution, continued and extended to much of the continent during the First Empire under Napoleon, finally lost its explosive force. After the campaign in 1814 and the battle of Waterloo in 1815, France lay prostrate before her British and continental enemies.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Great Britain might function as the brake on the European wheel, but France was still the hub. After the first abdication of Napoleon, in 1814, the victors gathered at Vienna to dispose of the fragments of the Empire and to establish a "new order" in

Europe; and they held their final sessions after Waterloo. There were present ten monarchs; the principal diplomats of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; British statesmen; Prince Talleyrand, who had managed foreign affairs for the French Revolutionary government, next had served Napoleon, and at the moment was representing the Bourbon claimant to the throne of France, Louis XVIII; and lesser notables from lesser countries. It was a grand game of grab, with music and dancing. By their abilities Prince Metternich, the principal diplomat for Austria, and the Frenchman Talleyrand made themselves the most important figures at the Congress. Metternich's purpose was to turn back the hands of the clock, so far as possible; to restore the ruling houses that had been driven from power following the French Revolution; to extinguish democracy; to magnify Austria. Talleyrand's great purpose was to save for France as much as he could from the wreckage of the French Empire; and he did very well, circumstances considered.

France was reduced to her boundaries of 1789, and the Bourbon dynasty (first established on the French throne in 1589) was restored in the person of Louis XVIII.

To the Kingdom of the Netherlands was assigned what is now Belgium, to form a stronger nation that might block France in case of another attempt at extension northeastward.

Ruling houses in Spain and in several Italian states were restored to the power they had held before the rise of Napoleon. The greater part of Poland was placed under the personal rule of Alexander I, Czar of Russia.

The territories of Prussia were extended at the cost of her neighbors, and thus a long step was taken in the unification of Germany. Austria was given back territories that she had lost, together with new territories, mostly non-German.

Great Britain was confirmed in some colonial gains — Malta, Ceylon, and other smaller islands, and the southernmost part of Africa (formerly Dutch).

ALLIANCES TO PRESERVE THEN EXISTING
GOVERNMENTS

Following the Congress of Vienna, the European powers made a series of alliances. The first was the Holy Alliance, made in 1815. This was the Czar's pet project. A religious man in his own way, he drew up a plan for an alliance among rulers who should pledge themselves to govern according to the principles of Christ. The charter members of this alliance were the Czar himself, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Austria.

The Quadruple Alliance, also formed in 1815, included Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain. In 1818 the Quadruple Alliance took in France, against which it had largely been directed; thereafter the alliance came to be known as the Concert of Europe.

The several allies were pledged to uphold the work of the Congress of Vienna. In case one monarch should be faced with attack or revolt, his brother monarchs were to send forces to his aid. Austria under the guidance of Metternich took the lead in such interventions, while Great Britain developed objections to the whole business.

The story of the generations immediately following the Congress of Vienna is one of struggle between the restored old order in Europe and the new order that had been launched in 1789. There was social and economic conflict as well as political strife. Many individuals settled their particular destinies by emigration to America; the possible effects of their exodus upon the various homelands is a matter of speculation rather than of ascertainable fact. Sociological and economic developments were (and always are) tied up with political developments, whether as causes or effects; but here we must, in the main, follow the political thread. The table on pages 48–51 lists the high points in the political history of Europe in the nineteenth century; you will find it useful for reference.

REVOLTS AND REVOLUTIONS

Three major waves of revolt spread through Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. In brief, these movements were as follows:

1. *The revolts of the 1820's.* In 1812, while Napoleon dominated most of Spain, the remnant of the country with its capital at Cadiz had adopted a liberal constitution. Upon the restoration of the Spanish Bourbons with Ferdinand VII as king, this constitution was declared void. Ferdinand revived the old privileges of the nobility and of other groups and re-established medieval despotism. The more enlightened part of the population could not endure this despotism, and by January, 1820, Ferdinand had a revolution on his hands. Louis XVIII sent French troops to Spain and put down the revolt for Ferdinand. The French withdrew in disgust at the cruel vengeance Ferdinand took upon his foes. This disgust in itself is evidence that the forces of progress were regaining ground as early as 1820.

A revolt in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, called the "Two Sicilies," was crushed by Austria on behalf of the worthless Italian Bourbon king.

A revolt of the Greeks against the Turks broke out in 1821. This led, after some years of fighting, to Greek independence.

2. *The revolts of 1830.* Charles X became king of France in 1824, following the death of fat and good-natured Louis XVIII. Charles was determined to restore the despotic powers of the French kings. Warned against this course, he refused to heed; and antagonism grew till in 1830 a speedy revolution drove Charles from the throne. In his place Louis Philippe, of the royal house of Bourbon-Orleans, became the "Citizen King."

Belgium was unhappy in the union with Holland, and in 1830 the Belgians declared their independence. There were several years of warfare before the Belgians won, establishing a constitutional monarchy patterned after that of Great Britain.

Encouraged by the example of France and Belgium, the part of Poland that was subject to Russia tried to gain independence. The revolt was put down, and Russian Poland was made a part of Russia proper, losing whatever liberal treatment it had previously enjoyed.

3. *The revolts of 1848.* The revolts of 1848 were more sweeping than those of the '20's and '30's. France again took the lead, changing her monarchy under Louis Philippe to the Second Republic under the presidency of Louis Napoleon. Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon the First, had spent years in trying to win popular favor and to get into power. The republic under him was to be short-lived. In 1851 he had himself declared president for life, and in the following year he proclaimed the restoration of the French Empire. Although the son of the great Napoleon had never ruled, the Bonapartists regarded him as Napoleon the Second; thus it happened that Louis Napoleon, the nephew, took the title of Napoleon the Third.

There were serious revolts in Germany, in Italy, in Austria, and in Hungary. The different peoples all wanted freedom from despotism. The city of Vienna rose in revolt and Metternich fled to exile in England. Ultimately the rivalries of factions contributed to the defeat of the revolutionary cause in Germany and in the Italian states. In Austria the antagonism of the different peoples who were the subjects of the emperor of Austria gave opportunity for the conservative and reactionary forces once more to take control. The Hungarian republicans under the leadership of Louis Kossuth made a great stand for liberty; but the emperor of Russia sent large armies to help the Austrian emperor and the Hungarians were crushed.

For her pains to save the Austrian Empire, Russia met with "the Austrian ingratitude of 1854." In 1854, when Russia was beset with enemies (page 50), Austria massed troops on her southeastern borders, presenting an additional menace. Russia never again trusted Austria.

SOME OUTSTANDING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE DURING THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

EUROPE IN GENERAL	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	AUSTRIA	OTHER COUNTRIES
Congress of Vienna, 1814 to 1815.	Napoleon finally dethroned and exiled, 1815. Boundaries of 1789 restored. Kingdom restored.	A loose confederation of states under the nominal headship of Austria.	Old dynasties and small states re-established; Austrian possessions and domination in the northeastern parts of the peninsula restored	Control in northern Italy and in other quarters recovered. Metternich the leading figure.	Belgium (once the Austrian Netherlands) joined to Holland, or the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Spain and Portugal lose their American colonies, 1811 to 1822.
Popular revolts, 1820.	Louis XVIII dies, 1824. Charles X becomes king.		Revolt in Naples crushed with foreign aid, 1820.		Revolution in Spain put down with the aid of France, 1820. The War for Greek Independence, 1821 to 1829.

Popular revolts, 1830.	Louis Philippe, "Le Roi Bourgeois," 1830.	Weak revolts in Germany, 1830. The German customs and commercial union (Deutscher Zoll- und Handelsverein) unites economically most of Germany outside Austria, 1834.	Weak revolts overcome with Austrian aid, 1830.	Belgium declares its independence, 1830. Revolution of the Poles, against the Russians, fails, 1830.
Popular revolts, 1848	Second Republic, 1848. Emperor Napoleon III, 1852.	A National Assembly meets at Frankfurt, 1848 to 1849. It draws up a constitution for all the German states outside Austria, plan fails.	Charles Albert made king of Sardinia; grants a constitution, 1848	Metternich overthrown, 1848. Revolts finally crushed. Russia helps to put down Hungarian revolt.

SOME OUTSTANDING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE DURING THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY (*Continued*)

EUROPE IN GENERAL	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	AUSTRIA	OTHER COUNTRIES
A tendency toward larger units of sovereignty, 1840 to 1870.	Napoleon III engages in military adventures in Italy, Crimea, Mexico, and Cochin-China. He obtains the cession of Savoy and Nice from the Kingdom of Sardinia, 1860.	Bismarck head of the Prussian cabinet, 1862. Prussia and Austria at war with Denmark to gain Schleswig and Holstein, 1864. Prussia defeats Austria, 1866. North German states unified under Prussia.	Lombardy annexed by Sardinia, 1859. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Romagna, joined to Sardinia; Garibaldi takes the Kingdom of Naples for Italy; the Kingdom of Italy is proclaimed, 1861.	Austria expelled from the German Confederation, 1866. She loses Venetia to Italy. The <i>Augleich</i> , forming the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1867.	Russia on the defensive in the Crimean War, with France, Great Britain, and the Kingdom of Sardinia opposed to her, 1853 to 1856. Edict of Emancipation by Czar Alexander II frees the Russian serfs, 1861. Russia favors the Union cause in the American Civil War; sells Alaska to the United States, 1867.

Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71.	France loses Alsace-Lorraine. The Third Republic formed. Indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 to Germany.	Rome seized from Austria (aside from Italy); unification of the peninsula completed, 1870.	Revolts in the Balkans against Turkish rule; Russia intervenes and defeats the Turks; the Congress of Berlin deprives Russia largely of the advantages of victory; 1878.
A grand grab for colonies.	The old problem of balance of power, 1870 and after.	The Dual Alliance, France and Russia, 1894. Becomes the Triple Entente, with Great Britain, 1907.	The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, 1892.

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND OF ITALY

Both Germany and Italy had for centuries been divided into many separate units, which could exert comparatively little political influence in European affairs. The numerous German states were members of the Holy Roman Empire (the First Reich), a loose league under the headship of Austria. Austria, with many non-German subjects, was determined to keep the other German states divided and weak if she could not dominate them.

THE WORK OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon I had required the sovereign of Austria to declare the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire; he had enlarged a number of South German states and formed among them the Confederation of the Rhine; and he had swept away a great deal of medieval rubbish from the governments of various German principalities. He proceeded in much the same manner in Italy, and in the northwestern part of the peninsula he set up a state which he was pleased to call "the Kingdom of Italy." Of that state he was king. Thus, for purposes of his own, he did much toward the modernization and the unification of both Germany and Italy.

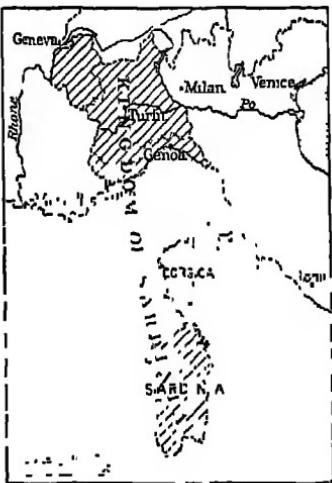
THE WORK OF BISMARCK

The story of the making of Germany into one nation (the Second Reich) is chiefly the story of the rise of the North German kingdom of Prussia. In 1866 Prussia, under the guidance of Chancellor Bismarck, finally expelled Austria from the then existing German league and formed the North German Confederation with herself as leader. In 1870 to 1871 all the German states except Austria were brought into a new German Empire, the "Second Reich," with the Prussian king as emperor. This government continued until the end of the World War in 1918.

THE WORK OF CAVOUR

Italy suffered all the plagues of disunion, revolt, corruption, and foreign domination known to any country. For centuries Italy had been only "a geographical expression." In the north were about seven small states, usually under the control of Austria; in the middle section around Rome were the Papal States under the rule of the Pope; and in the south was the Kingdom of Naples, or the Two Sicilies. The source and center of the unification movement was the Kingdom of Sardinia, which was ruled by the house of Savoy (now the royal family of Italy). It was Count Camillo Cavour, the Sardinian prime minister, who had the vision and the skill to pilot the king of Sardinia to the kingship of Italy.

In 1859 the Sardinians secured the aid of France in a war against Austria. For the French service in winning for them the battles of Magenta and Solferino they ceded to France the dukedom of Savoy, whose people were predominantly French, and the city of Nice, whose people were almost all Italians. In 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. In 1866 Italy was in alliance with Prussia against Austria and had for her reward Venice and other territories. In 1870 Italy was again in alliance with Prussia, which was then overrunning France. The Italians seized the opportu-



The Kingdom of Sardinia, as it was restored and enlarged by the Congress of Vienna. Savoy, the ancestral land of the kings of Sardinia, later kings of Italy, is represented by the most northerly shaded area. Napoleon Bonaparte had included Savoy in his Kingdom of Italy (page 42). Note the city of Turin, capital of the kingdom; Nice, later ceded to France; and Genoa, which had been an aristocratic republic before Napoleon's time.

nity to expel a French garrison from Rome, whereupon they made old Rome the capital of their new kingdom.

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE

The unification of Germany and of Italy provided two additional strong nations in Europe. Earlier the strong powers on the continent were France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. With reference to these Great Britain (England in an earlier time) had ordinarily maintained a policy of isolation; but when the balance of power on the continent was in danger of being upset Great Britain would intervene to restore the balance or else to make a new balance of power. The British and all others whose interest seemed best served by peace tried to keep power on the continent so distributed among the different groups, or camps, that no one nation or group might care to risk disturbing the peace of Europe. Through modern times, then, we find the British, or English, once favoring one first-class power and again favoring the enemies of that power — promoting this alignment and that among the lesser powers. Such statecraft did not originate with the English; it was old when the Greek city-states ruined one another with their rivalries.

Under Napoleon I the French completely upset the balance of power on the continent; and to restore it the British fought Napoleon almost literally to the death. Now with Germany and Italy unified, with France and Austria-Hungary less dominating, the old pattern of power was no more. The balancing of power had to be done all over again. The British began favoring France; a new set of alliances came into existence.

In 1879 Germany and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy formed an alliance, and in 1882 Italy joined with that group in the Triple Alliance.

France out of fear of Germany, and Russia because she needed to borrow French money, entered into the Dual Alliance, which was perfected in 1894.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT - BALANCE OF POWER



Europe on the eve of the World War of 1914 to 1918. Compare this with the map on page 43. Germany and Italy each had become a unified country, following 1815. Turkey had lost all her possessions in Europe except a narrow but extremely important foothold surrounding and including ancient Constantinople. Note the several independent Balkan countries. (See also map on page 78.)

Great Britain, herself fearing Germany, entered into the *Entente Cordiale* with France, following a treaty made in 1904.

The tie-up of France with Russia and of France with Great Britain developed into the *Triple Entente*, which was perfected in about the year 1907.

The original Allies of the World War of 1914 to 1918 were the nations of the Triple Entente. The Central Powers were the nations of the Triple Alliance, minus Italy, who threw in her lot with the Allies.

Thus the business of "choosing up sides," as among boys on a playing field, went on endlessly; and the game for which the powers were choosing up sides was the ancient one of grab, with a free-for-all fight sure to develop sooner or later.

EFFECTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPEAN
EVENTS AFTER 1815

In the century following 1815 (the end of our second war with Great Britain and close of the Congress of Vienna) the United States stood aloof from European affairs. Quite successfully we discouraged European meddling in the New World, as in the matter of Napoleon III's adventure in Mexico (pages 251–253). In 1898 we declared war on Spain, but we did so because of a New World condition; and the war that followed was not European.

Isolationism was long the prevailing policy of our country and it was attainable, within limits, until increasingly easy communication, transportation, and travel made it more and more difficult. Finally, in very recent time, radio and the airplane have broken down the barriers of distance, the bulwarks of isolationism. The First and Second World Wars (1914 to 1918 and 1939 to 1945) proved to be inescapable for us.

Whether or not we paid attention to them in a political way, the ups and downs of European peoples always had their effects among us. Refugees came to our shores in the times of the French Revolution, of Napoleon, of the Restoration. When democratic risings were crushed, or when crops failed, or when there were business depressions, immigrants flocked to this country.

European events held their lessons for Americans, lessons which went not unheeded. For ourselves we may observe that the desire for liberty, among European peoples, is like a genie that has been put in a bottle once and again. Over and over that genie gets out of the bottle; and sometime he will stay out. As for restorations and reconstructions, there is never a full restoration, never a full reconstruction. The learned doctors and the diplomats and the statesmen may lay their plans ever so well, but the forms that take shape from their work are not the forms they intended to mold.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can a group of human beings continue to live together without some kind of law? Justify your answer.
2. The state of San Marino within Italy is often described as an independent republic. However that may be, would you consider it a sovereign nation? Why?
3. In 1939, the Empire of Manchukuo and the kingless Kingdom of Hungary might have been classed as marionette states. Why?
4. Napoleon I helped to foment for France, and by force of arms he extended to other countries, an excellent code of laws before which all men were to stand as equals. With reference to this fact and other facts that you may have at command, compare Napoleon with Adolf Hitler.
5. How did the Industrial Revolution contribute to the growth of competitive nationalism?
6. What were the basic ideas and purposes common to the leaders in the Congress of Vienna? Did they succeed in "putting the pieces back in the old pattern"? How did they hope to keep Europe free from further political upheavals?
7. Often the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to 1871 is mentioned as one of the causes of the World War of 1914 to 1918. Why?
8. What were some of the effects on European politics of the unifications of Germany and of Italy?
9. What was the Triple Alliance? the Triple Entente? Which held together the better when general warfare began in 1914?
10. Explain the term "balance of power."

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Prepare a group report on the effect, or effects, that the Industrial Revolution had on each matter listed below. Let individual students report briefly on the several topics, and let a committee of the class combine the various reports in one paper.
 - (a) Quantity production
 - (b) Consumer's goods available to all classes of persons in many countries
 - (c) Transportation by land and water
 - (d) Architecture; construction
 - (e) The distribution of wealth; that is, in what group, or groups, money power is held

- (f) The leadership of "the rich, the wellborn, and the able"
 - (g) Employer-and-employee relations
 - (h) Evenness of employment, the year round
 - (i) Occupational diseases
 - (j) The proportion of the entire population — as in the United States or Great Britain — classified as urban; as rural
 - (k) The implements of warfare; that is, the character and quantity of armaments
 - (l) The costliness of warfare
 - (m) The fraction of the entire population of a nation that has actual experience of war, when war comes
 - (n) Colonial expansion
2. Using a large map of Europe — preferably a historical map, nineteenth century — point out the steps in the unification of Germany and of Italy as given in the table on pages 48–51.
 3. Make a chart of nations as of the date of your study; group them under five heads:
 - (a) Now independent sovereignties
 - (b) Have sovereign powers, yet from choice remain somewhat less than independent
 - (c) Have long been under the control of one sovereign power or another
 - (d) Following 1936, experienced impairment or loss of sovereignty at the hands of the Axis Powers
 - (e) Experienced impairment or loss of sovereignty following the Axis defeats
 4. If there is time, prepare reports on topics of special interest, as: steps in the unification of Germany during the nineteenth century; steps in the unification of Italy during the nineteenth century; the Franco-Prussian War and its long-time results.

CHAPTER

4

THE WORLD WAR OF 1914 TO 1918 AND THE TREATIES

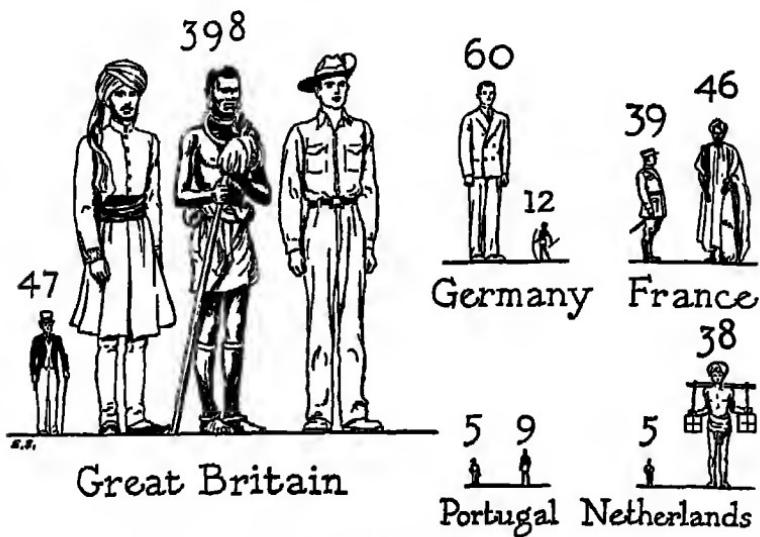
*V*OUMES have been written on the causes of the World War of 1914 to 1918, which is somewhat inaccurately called the First World War. Many students of affairs maintain that the basic causes of modern wars are unsolved economic problems; the political causes are in any case easier to follow and describe, and one of these is imperialism.

CONFLICTING NATIONAL AMBITIONS

European competition for the extension of empire rose high in the nineteenth century. It kept pace with the increasing industrialization of the leading nations, avid of new markets.

COLONIAL HOLDINGS OF THE GREAT POWERS

Africa, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, was divided up chiefly among Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany. Belgium, owing to a combination of British muddling and friendliness, was allowed to have the rich Congo country; and Portugal was permitted to keep African possessions that she had long held. In East Asia and the Pacific, Germany secured footholds. Italy and Germany came into the scramble for colonies late, since they were not unified until 1870 and 1871; therefore they did not acquire such large or such choice



Comparisons of the populations of several European countries, together with comparisons of the populations of their non-European dependencies or associates in empire, in 1914. The figures represent millions. A principle to which European colonizing powers paid little attention, if any, was written into the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson — that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

areas as Great Britain and France had in possession, and neither of them secured a plot for hoisting its flag in the New World.

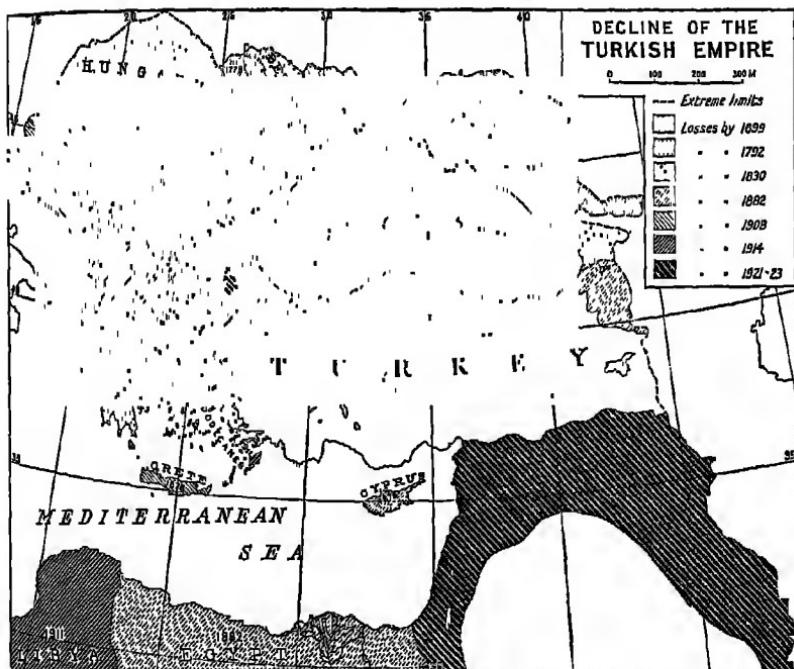
In Asia, Russia continually kept adding to her immense territories. From her island vantage point Japan encroached on China and on China's nominal dependency, strategically located Korea.

THE BALKAN TROUBLE PATCH

The Balkan countries, liberated from Turkish rule during the nineteenth century (largely through the help of Russia), were a constant source of trouble and were correctly called the "tinder box of Europe." These smaller nations, weak and unstable, were continually under pressure from one Great Power or another. Constantinople (now Istanbul), an important strategic point in the control of southeastern Europe

and much of southwestern Asia, was still in the hands of Turkey.

Russia for generations had been interested in expansion southward to the Mediterranean. "The Bear wished to put his feet in warm water," and always the Bear had been blocked by a combination of western European powers. Many of the Balkan peoples were Slavs, racial kindred of the Russians and members of the Eastern Church, or Greek Orthodox Church, the state church of Russia. Russia considered herself the right-



Even as late as the early 1800's the possessions of the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire were immense. In addition to the losses shown on this map Turkey lost Algeria to France (1830's), the greater part of Morocco to France and a strip along the north coast of that country to Spain (in the early years of this century), Tunisia to France (1881), and Arabia largely to native princes (after 1918). By 1923 Turkey was left with the peninsula of Asia Minor (Anatolia) and Thrace, across the Straits in Europe, as her entire domain. Since 1923 she has received slight additions of territory.

ful guardian of the Slavic peoples in the Balkans. At the same time Austria-Hungary was deeply interested in expansion southeastward and sought domination of the Balkans.

In 1878 it was arranged at the Congress of Berlin (page 51) that Austria-Hungary should rule the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These had formed the most northwesterly part of the Turkish Empire, and they were to remain nominally Turkish after 1878. Serbia coveted the two provinces, largely because they would give her access to the Mediterranean. In 1908 Austria-Hungary, without asking anybody's leave, annexed the two provinces outright. They thereafter formed the most southerly part of the Dual Monarchy. Serbia was angry at the Austro-Hungarian action; and France and Russia were not pleased. Neither was Germany, for that matter.

The Triple Alliance continued for a few more years, in spite of conflicting interests, because neither Austria-Hungary, nor Germany, nor Italy could contrive to make a more advantageous alliance.

BALKAN WARS

In 1912 and 1913 Montenegro, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece made war on Turkey and stripped her of almost all her holdings in Europe, except Constantinople. Rumania stood neutral and demanded a price for her neutrality; and Serbia demanded a larger share of Macedonia than Bulgaria was willing to yield. As a result the Balkan pack, now including Rumania, turned against Bulgaria in 1913 and despoiled her. Old hatreds mounted higher than ever among these pawns of the several Great Powers. Serbia still kept her eyes on Bosnia and Herzegovina, still continued as a stumbling block to Austro-Hungarian ambitions in the southeast.

ASSASSINATION OF AN AUSTRIAN ARCHDUKE

In June, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife were on a good-will visit to



As a European cartoonist, in 1912, saw the alliance of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy. The caption runs, "In the Triple Alliance Italy again flirts with Dame La France; and, aside from that, complete unity seems to be lacking" Germany had been much displeased by Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, because that action endangered the peace of Europe at a moment when Germany preferred not to go to war.

Sarajevo, the dusty provincial capital of Bosnia; and there the Archduke and his wife were assassinated. Austria-Hungary chose to hold Serbia responsible for the murder; she accused the Serbian government of inspiring it, and she demanded satisfactions and guarantees from Serbia which would have robbed the country of its self-respect and its independence; she seized the occasion to deal once and for all with the Serbs. Austria-Hungary looked with confidence to her ally Germany for approval of her policy in the Balkans. The Serbian affair was, after all, a necessary step in the German and Austro-Hungarian *Drang nach Osten*, the drive toward the East, with its grand project for a Berlin-to-Baghdad railroad.

THE WAR

The stage was set for war and war came. On July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia; and in a week the Germans, Russians, French, and British, with their vast em-

pires, had all taken their stands in accordance with their several alliances and were at war. On April 6, 1917, the United States entered the conflict. The table that follows shows the sequence of the major events in connection with the outbreak and spread of the war.

THE COMMITMENTS OF THE SEVERAL NATIONS IN THE
WORLD WAR OF 1914 TO 1918

DATE	ACTION
June 28, 1914	Franz Ferdinand of Austria is assassinated by a Serbian in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia.
July 23, 1914	The Austro-Hungarian ultimatum is presented to Serbia. Serbia offers to conform in part, but not fully.
July 28, 1914	Austria-Hungary declares war against Serbia.
	On hearing of Austria-Hungary's declaration, Russia orders the mobilization of troops.
August 1, 1914	Germany declares war against Russia.
	Germany asks France about her position and is told that France will follow her own interests, i.e., she does not agree to remain neutral.
August 2, 1914	Germany invades Belgium.
August 3, 1914	Germany declares war against France.
August 4, 1914	Great Britain declares war against Germany.
August 23, 1914	Japan declares war against Germany.
	Japan moves to seize German holdings in Asia.
October 29, 1914	Turkey joins the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary), entering the war by attacking the Russian fleet.
May 23, 1915	Italy enters the war on the Allied side, having deserted the Triple Alliance.
October 14, 1915	Bulgaria joins the Central Powers, declaring war on Serbia.
August 27, 1916	Rumania declares war against the Central Powers.
November 23, 1916	Greece and Portugal declare war against the Central Powers.
April 6, 1917	The United States declare war on Germany.
	They join in the war as an Associated Power, not taking the name of "ally."
December 7, 1917	The United States declare war on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Declarations of war against the Central Powers were made also by Panama, Cuba, Siam (now Thailand), Liberia, China, Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Honduras. It was important for these nations to get a hearing if possible in the peacemaking, and therefore highly important for them to be able to say that they had stood with the Allies.

MAJOR EVENTS OF THE WAR

During a little more than four years there was continuous fighting, winter and summer. There was action on every ocean, and in Africa and Asia as well as in Europe. Aerial warfare increased in importance from month to month, as improvements in airplanes and in their production were speeded by the contestants. Most of the land fighting was trench warfare, warfare of attrition, effective in wearing down the enemy but not of decisive character. Russia and France furnished the principal battlefields and sustained the greatest losses in man power. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians eliminated Russia from the war in 1917 and occupied most of the Balkan peninsula, except Greece, which entered the conflict near its close. British Empire forces were the principal factor in the destruction of the old Turkish Empire in Asia. However, the Turks with German aid held Constantinople and the Dardanelles all through the war.

All the while war was prosecuted at sea, chiefly in the North Atlantic, the Germans depending mostly upon submarines. In battles between surface vessels the Germans were worsted.

The entrance of fresh, well-equipped United States troops into the war turned the tide of battle on the Western Front (mostly in northern and eastern France) in favor of the Allies. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed, and the German Empire did not long survive its once powerful ally.

On pages 66-67 there is a table which sets forth some of the outstanding phases and actions of the war.

SUMMARY OF WAR EVENTS, 1914 TO 1918

YEAR	WEST FRONT	EAST FRONT	OTHER THEATERS OF ACTION
1914	August, German drive through Belgium. Path opened through to France. September 6 to 10, First Battle of the Marne. Paris saved; Germans blocked. French warfare begins; lasts four years.	Russian offensive in East Prussia. August 26 to September 1, at Tannenberg the Germans stop the Russian invasion; Hindenburg given the credit. September 6 to 19, at the Mazurian Lakes a Russian army is routed.	The British and French blockade the Central Powers. Submarine warfare conducted by all the belligerents, but chiefly by the Germans.
1915	April 22 to 26, Second Battle of Ypres; first use of poison gas. Channel ports still threatened by Germans.	German forces go deep into Russian territory.	January 24, naval battle off Dogger Bank in the North Sea (British victory). Gallipoli: Turks successfully defend Constantinople against British attacks.
1916	February to July, siege of Verdun; Germans fail to capture this key city in northern France. Somme River; first use of tanks (by the British).	Military events and conditions bad for Russia.	May 31, naval battle of Jutland. British maintain control of the seas. German submarine warfare intensified.

1917.	<p>Intense fighting continued. Transfer of Hindenburg and East Front forces to West Front strengthens German morale. Entrance of United States into the war strengthens Allied morale. Germans build Hindenburg Line, designed to hold almost all Belgium and northern France indefinitely.</p>	<p>March to November, three Russian revolutions: March, Lvov and Moderates force abdication of Czar; July, Kerensky's government supplants the Moderates; November, Lenin's supporters Kerensky's. The Russian Bolsheviks, or Communists, seek to make a separate peace with Germany.</p>	<p>April 6, the United States declare war. October, the Italians defeated by Germans and Austro-Hungarians along the Isonzo River (Caporetto disaster). Great Britain, France, and the United States aid the Italians.</p>
1918			<p>March, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; Russia yields immense territories to Germany. (These later disposed of by the Allies as victors over Germany.)</p> <p>Foch made supreme head of all forces on the West Front. United States' participation (Châlons, Château-Thierry, Belleau Wood, Saint-Mihiel, Meuse-Arnonne). The Hindenburg Line is broken, September and October. On November 9, the Kaiser flees; a German republic is declared November 11, Armistice.</p> <p>Allied offensive in the Balkans. British take Palestine. Allies successful throughout Asia Minor. September 29, Bulgarian armistice; October 31, Turkish armistice; November 3, Austro-Hungarian armistice.</p>

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

As with so many things in the last quarter century, people have changed their minds repeatedly about the Treaty of Versailles, between the Allied Powers and Germany. When the treaty was made, in 1919; many persons felt that there would be a new world order and that the world would indeed be saved for democracy. Some thought that the victors should have dealt much more harshly with Germany; that they should have taken away more of her territory in Europe — serving her as she had served Russia at Brest-Litovsk; that they should have taken away more of her independence. Others noted with misgiving that the territorial and economic provisions of the treaty did not strongly reflect the idealism that had been expressed by President Wilson (pages 75–77). And the cynical regarded the Wilson Fourteen Points as high-flown idealism, impossible to apply in the hard world of realities.

ESTIMATES OF THE TREATY

With world depression and successive international political crises following the war, it became an easy thing to condemn the Treaty of Versailles as the source of many ills. But the sources of economic and political troubles are highly complicated and have a wider base than the provisions of any treaty.

It is obvious that the system set up by the Treaty of Versailles failed; otherwise there would not have been another world war while memories of 1914 to 1918 were still vivid to multitudes of people. We need to study how the Treaty of Versailles was made — the ideas of the leaders of the nations in 1918 to 1919, the circumstances of the peacemaking; we need to consider how the treaty provisions stood the test in the years of operation; we should try to distinguish between faults inherent in the treaty and troubles that may have arisen as a result of enforcement or non-enforcement.

This much is certain: If the Treaty of Versailles was a bad treaty, it should not have been made as it was; if it was a good treaty, or even a reasonably good treaty that was actually workable, it should have been enforced.

THE LEADING PERSONALITIES AT THE PEACEMAKING

Paris was chosen for the Peace Conference. During the months following the war, Paris was full of the spirit of revenge — naturally enough. The city had suffered bombardment by German long-range guns; damaged buildings, captured guns, war posters, and men in uniform all kept alive the war atmosphere.

The most important leaders at the conference, because they represented the principal victorious nations, were Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; Georges Clemenceau, Premier of France; David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain; and Vittorio Orlando, Premier of Italy. These were known as the "Big Four." The "Big Three" were Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson; and these were the men most responsible for the provisions of the treaty.

Georges Clemenceau of France was a man seventy-seven years old, with great ability, enormous energy, and a vast background of political experience. In his youth he had lived through the German invasion of 1870 to 1871 and the occupation of Paris in 1871. Journalist and politician, he was made premier in 1917 at a time when France seemed almost to have lost the war. Clemenceau's program was very simple: He would first crush Germany so that she could never again threaten France, and then he would depend for security both on French military power and on alliances. The keynote of the French policy following the war remained "national security."

David Lloyd George, a man of Welsh ancestry born in England, had long been an aggressive Liberal in British politics. He had been Prime Minister during the greater part of the war.

When the British held a Parliamentary election in December, 1918, the campaign turned largely upon the matter of policy toward Germany, and the candidates whose views were most extreme met with the greatest measure of popular favor. Lloyd George impulsively pledged himself to put the ex-Kaiser on trial for his life and to make Germany pay the entire cost of the war. His party prevailed, and he was continued as Prime Minister. It was only six weeks after this British election that the peace conference opened at Paris.

President Wilson decided to go to the peace conference in person that he might the better insure a new world order. He went in spite of the advice of able well-wishers. If he had stayed in Washington he would have had a tactical advantage in dealing through representatives whose acts he could consider deliberately and could refuse to confirm if he saw fit. Appointees of the President would not have dared, on their own authority, to yield on any of Wilson's Fourteen Points (page 75). As the titular head of the United States government, the only person of sovereign rank present, the diplomats at Paris had to defer to Mr. Wilson. They were not in a position to question his full and unqualified authority, although they might know well the power of the United States Senate to accept or reject a treaty.

President Wilson selected for his delegation Secretary of State Robert Y. Lansing; Henry White, who had held diplomatic posts in various countries; General Tasker H. Bliss, a retired army officer; and Colonel Edward M. House, who had acted throughout the war as the President's personal representative. There was no member of the Senate or of the Republican party in the delegation. It has been said that it would have been better if President Wilson had taken along a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, considering that any treaty he might negotiate would require a two-thirds vote of the Senate for ratification.

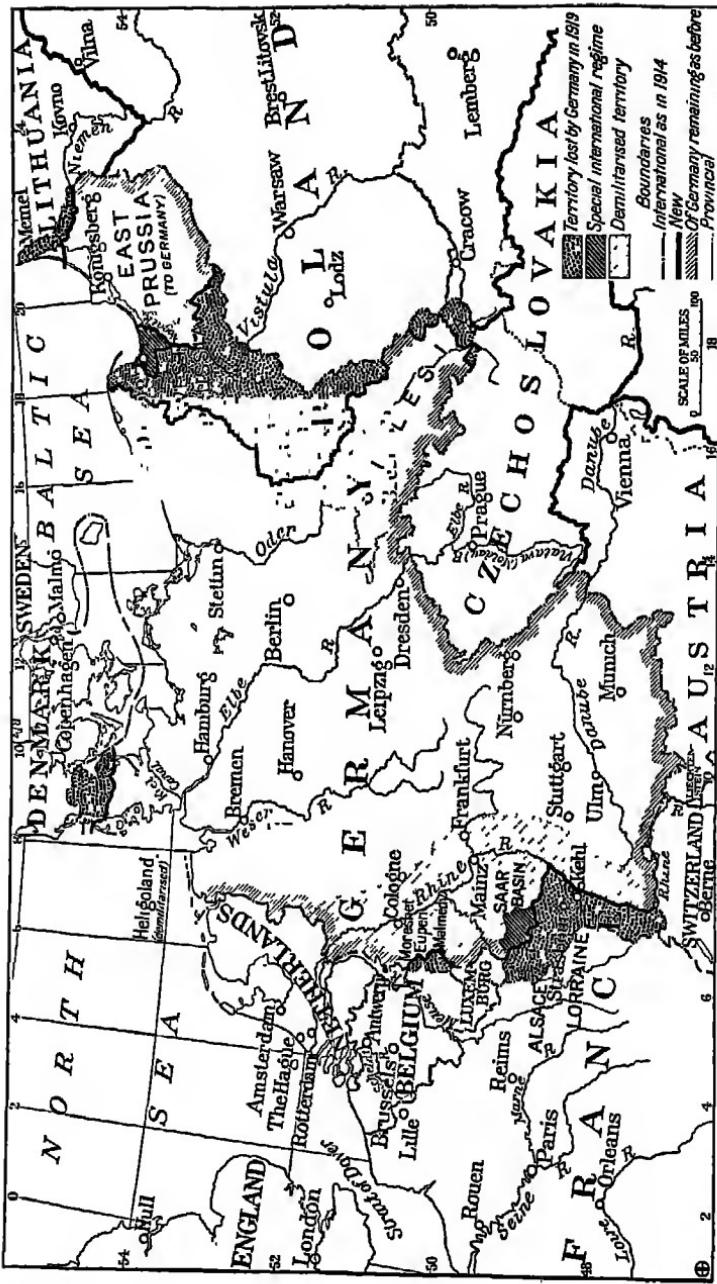
PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY

The Treaty of Versailles, according to its own preamble, was to institute "a firm, just, and durable peace." The treaty was negotiated only among the victors — not with Germany in any sense. The Germans signed what they were told to sign. The signing took place on June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles, the very room in which the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871. The major provisions of the treaty covered territorial changes; German military, naval, and air forces; reparations; and the League of Nations (pages 177-184).

To France were restored Alsace and Lorraine. To Belgium there were assigned three small areas — Eupen, Malmédy, and Moresnet. To Denmark was offered Schleswig-Holstein, which had been taken from her in 1864; but the Danes would have only that small northerly part of the territory whose inhabitants voted in favor of reunion with Denmark. To Czechoslovakia was given a small section of upper Silesia. To Poland was given the Polish Corridor through Germany to Danzig on the Baltic; and the city of Danzig, designed as a port for Poland, was made a free city under control of the League of Nations. The Memel district was taken from Germany; in 1923 it was given to Lithuania.

Germany lost one eighth of her population and 15 per cent of her arable land. She lost also her colonial empire. The former German colonies in Africa and in the Orient were designated as mandates of the League of Nations, but were placed under the direct control of the principal victorious countries, except the United States. Germany was limited strictly to her area in Europe.

To guarantee German fulfillment of the treaty provisions, the Allied and Associated Powers occupied a strip of German territory west of the Rhine River. The treaty made provision for a fifteen-year period of occupation, which might be in-



Central Europe after 1919. Note the areas and boundaries that are keyed, and consider the present facts about them.

definitely prolonged. Actually the last of the occupying troops in German territory were removed in 1930.

The amount of reparations was to be determined by a Reparations Commission composed of the representatives of the Allies. In 1921, the Reparations Commission fixed the total sum at \$32,000,000,000. The expressed purpose was to make Germany pay all the damages of the war, in gold and in commodities. The reparations were to be paid annually for thirty years. The United States made no claim for reparations, but was indirectly concerned with the question on account of the war debts of the Allies to the United States.

Military clauses restricted the Germany army to 100,000 men. The manufacture of some war materials was prohibited, and the manufacture of any war materials was strictly limited. The naval provisions were drastic. Germany was allowed no submarines; was permitted only six small battleships, six light cruisers, six destroyers, and twelve torpedo boats; and the total naval force was limited to 15,000 men. Germany was forbidden any air force and was forbidden to build or possess any war planes. Among many other provisions was the "war-guilt clause," galling to the Germans, which stated explicitly that Germany acknowledged the guilt for causing the World War.

No guarantees were made to Germany, except such as might have been implicit in the League of Nations. The Poles in 1921 took by force a piece of Silesian territory whose people had voted, in a plebiscite provided for by the Treaty of Versailles, to remain with Germany. And there was a breach of faith with reference to Memel and its surrounding territory.

The first outstanding breach of the treaty was made by Italy in permitting Italian adventurers to seize Fiume from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia). In that action the treaty and the League of Nations were grossly flouted and a vicious precedent was recorded.

OTHER TREATIES

We are prone to think of the Treaty of Versailles as *the* treaty that took care of the whole matter of peace terms with the Central Powers and their allies. But the Versailles treaty was only for Germany, which had to accept it, while our country refused to ratify it. The representatives of the victorious nations, assembled at Paris in 1919, drew up at least five treaties which were to be imposed upon the several defeated nations. None of these were signed at Paris: the signings were ceremonially conducted at different points outside Paris, in order that the several treaties might take their names from those various points and so be the more easily identifiable.

PEACE WITH THE LESSER VANQUISHED NATIONS

The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, signed on September 10, 1919, legalized the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The status given to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia, together with the northeastward extension of Italy, left ancient Austria itself as a landlocked area with six and one half million people, many of them in Vienna. Austria lost to Italy Trieste, the Trentino, and also a section of German-speaking Tyrol. The military restrictions were similar to those of the Treaty of Versailles. Further, Austria was to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly endanger her independence; that is, she was forbidden to join with Germany.

The Treaty of Trianon, dealing with Hungary, reduced Hungarian territory and provided military restrictions.

The Treaty of Neuilly was a little more lenient in the treatment of Bulgaria; but her frontage on the Aegean Sea was given to Greece, and several small districts were given to Yugoslavia.

The Treaty of Sèvres, not signed till August 10, 1920, was with, or for, Turkey. It sought to divide most of Asia Minor into spheres of influence for the Great Powers. Parts of this

treaty were never enforced, owing to the prompt revival of Turkish military effectiveness under Mustapha Kemal, later called Ataturk. Kemal drove French and other occupying forces out of the land. He expelled the Greek population from Smyrna, now called Izmir. He established the Turkish government at Ankara in Asia Minor (Anatolia). The ancient capital, Constantinople, was renamed Istanbul.

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

In January, 1918, nine months before the end of the war, President Wilson in a message to Congress had outlined the Fourteen Points which he considered essential for a lasting peace. His purpose was to present these points early, so that they would be universally understood by the time the world came to the task of peacemaking. On pages 76 and 77 there is a list of the Points, with a brief comment concerning the fate of each.

Wilson's presentation of his Fourteen Points ended with the following passage: "We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing."

So far as our country in its separate capacity was concerned the spirit of these words was fulfilled.

REJECTION OF THE TREATIES BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE

While President Wilson was at Paris a majority of the members of the Senate sent him a round robin, warning him that they would not vote to ratify a treaty that might commit this country to permanent entanglement in the affairs of Europe.

MODERN NATIONS: GOVERNMENTS — PEOPLES

THE FOURTEEN POINTS	THEIR OBSERVANCE
I. Open covenants openly arrived at.	All important conclusions arrived at in secret sessions of the Big Four.
II Freedom of navigation upon the seas, alike in peace and in war.	The matter dropped before the meetings of the Peace Conference began. To this Point the British would not even render lip service. Blockade of Germany, even against foodstuffs, maintained for a number of months after the Armistice.
III Removal of economic barriers and establishment of trade equality.	Nothing done. Reparation requirements not compatible with sound international trade relations.
IV. Guarantees that national armaments be reduced.	Only the conquered nations limited in armaments.
V. Free, open-minded adjustment of all colonial claims.	All German colonies declared forfeited and parceled out as mandates.
VI Evacuation by the Central Powers of all Russian territory (surrendered under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk); settlement of Russian questions to secure fullest cooperation.	Buffer states carved from former Russian territory. Allied and United States troops used against the Bolsheviks.
VII. Belgium evacuated and restored	Fulfilled. Belgium also given small bits of German territory.
VIII. Alsace-Lorraine restored to France. Restitution to France for property damage.	Fulfilled, as to territory. Restitution for property damage provided for.
IX Readjustment of Italian frontiers along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.	Done and overdone German and Slav minorities placed within the new Italian border.
X. Peoples of Austria-Hungary given opportunity for self-determination.	Fulfilled in part; four nations and part of a fifth carved out of Austria-Hungary. But Austria was denied union with Germany.

WORLD WAR OF 1914-1918 AND THE TREATIES

XI. Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro evacuated. Serbia given access to sea.	Fulfilled in large measure.
XII. Self-determination for territories separated from Turkey.	On the whole not accomplished.
XIII. An independent Poland made up of territories inhabited predominantly by Poles.	Fulfilled as to Poland; but non-Polish peoples included in Poland.
XIV. A League of Nations to be formed.	Fulfilled, on paper at least.

The President went ahead and had the Covenant of the League of Nations made an inseparable part of the Treaty of Versailles; and when he returned with the treaty he insisted that it should be ratified with no reservations touching the League.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, offered a form for ratification of the treaty with several reservations qualifying our possible League membership. The Senators who stood by the President joined with those who opposed him, in voting against such ratification. And when a vote was taken on the treaty just as it stood, League and all, the Senate majority rejected it that way also. The sister treaties of the Treaty of Versailles were not ratified either.

Whatever the deserts of the treaties and of the League may have been, Democratic and Republican party politics played too great a part in the entire controversy concerning ratification. The day of the self-propelled missile and the atomic bomb had not yet arrived to shatter the confidence of many of our people in the wisdom of isolationism.

The Senate's action left us technically at war with Germany and Austria and Hungary. On July 2, 1921, President Warren Gamaliel Harding signed the Knox Resolution, which declared that the war was at an end. Thereafter we entered into separate treaties, providing for peaceful relations, and for very little more, with Germany, Austria, and Hungary.



Comparison of this map with the map on page 55 will indicate the territorial changes that came about as a result of the World War of 1914 to 1918.

FINLAND, ESTONIA, LATVIA, and LITHUANIA separated from the Soviet, or Bolshevik, government of Russia in 1917 and 1918. The Soviet government permitted them to go their several ways under the principle of self-determination. Similarly, UKRAINA, or the UKRAINE (the southwesternmost part of the U.S.S.R. on this map), separated from Russia in the same period, but not for long. The province of BESSARABIA (the northeastern part of Rumania on this map) also separated from Russia; it was soon thereafter occupied by Rumania, with the approval of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan; Russia never gave her approval, and in 1940 she retook Bessarabia and some other land she had lost to Rumania.

Russia, which lost more men than any other country in the war of 1914 to 1918, was not represented at the Peace Conference at Paris. By the terms of the Armistice, Germany was required to keep her troops on the Eastern Front until peace should be made, and it was out of territories at the moment German-held that Russia's part of Poland was added to the new Poland. POLAND was reconstituted from territories of the countries that had partitioned the land in the late 1700's and again in 1815 – Prussia (Germany), Austria (Austria-Hungary), and Russia. Poland promptly extended her territories at the expense of one neighbor and another, swelling her population with additional non-Polish elements.

(Continued on page 79)

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. There were world-wide wars during American colonial times. Name two or more of them. Give the Old World names of these wars; also the names by which they were known in the thirteen colonies
2. There was a scramble for colonies beginning with the Age of Discovery and continuing through it. What country possessed herself of the greatest areas in those times? Name two other Latin countries that did well by themselves, territorially. How, finally, was the question of title to the interior of North America and to many of the West Indian islands settled?
3. What particular territory was the bone of contention in the Balkans that led to the general war of 1914 to 1918? What dispositions were made of this territory from 1878 on?
4. In what sequence did the great powers of Europe enter into the World War of 1914 to 1918? Which of the pre-war alliances was broken when the test of war came?
5. What was the importance of the first battle of the Marne? of Verdun? of the drives of 1918 against the Germans and their allies?
6. Shrewd statesmen have agreed that one should either crush a defeated enemy so that he can never rise again or deal generously with him. Did the Treaty of Versailles and its companion treaties exemplify that theory? Give reasons for your answer.

The territories of RUMANIA and GREECE were extended by the arrangements that were made at Paris (1919 to 1920); those countries had taken part on the side of the Allied and Associated Powers during the war. BULGARIA and TURKEY were penalized with the loss of territories, they having fought with the Central Powers. SMYRNA with its surrounding region, in Asia Minor, was retaken by the Turks from the Greeks in 1922.

MONTENEGRO, by the will of its people — mostly Serbs — and by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, was made part of YUGOSLAVIA.

An absolutely new state erected under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles was CZECHOSLOVAKIA, which had the one-time kingdom of Bohemia for its nucleus. Another was YUGOSLAVIA, or the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which had Serbia for its nucleus.

AUSTRIA and HUNGARY, which appeared on the map as separate entities in 1919, were very old countries. Each was stripped of all the alien lands it had held and also of some of its own ancient domain.

7. Compare, briefly, the Holy Alliance of 1815 with the League of Nations. Consider the founders, their purposes, how their purposes were received, and what became of their plans.
8. Tell something about the career of "the little Welshman"; about the career of "the Tiger."
9. In what respect was Woodrow Wilson's career tragic?
10. Mention ten provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
11. With what countries were these treaties made: (1) St. Germain, (2) Trianon, (3) Neuilly, (4) Sèvres? Which of them was practically ignored by the nation upon which it was to be imposed?
12. What European territory was transferred to France under the Treaty of Versailles? What has been the subsequent fate of that territory?
13. With what country were Bosnia and Herzegovina incorporated under the Treaty of Versailles?
14. Which of the Balkan countries lost several areas to her neighbors as a result of the war?
15. What considerable province did Hungary lose to Rumania?
16. Name two important Baltic cities that were taken from Germany.
17. What were the Fourteen Points? What are the Eight Points?
18. Some persons believed that the peacemaking at the end of the Second World War would present problems more difficult, even, than those of the warmaking. What might have been the reason, or reasons, for this belief of theirs?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. In a work of reference, or in different works, read about the Slavic peoples. List the more important Slavic units.
2. In statistics concerning the U.S.S.R. note the number of Russian-speaking people in the Soviet Union; the number of persons speaking other Slavic tongues; the number of non-Slavic inhabitants. Make a graph to show the relative importance of these groups.
3. Let two or more students report to the class on each of the following topics: the effect of the Congressional elections of 1918; President Wilson's appeal to the country on behalf of the Treaty of Versailles and the League, the Presidential election of 1920.

CHAPTER 5

SYSTEMS AND IDEALS OF GOVERNMENT

*I*N a prose passage the poet Heine tells us that the world was a most comfortable place for the privileged before the French Revolution. Then, he says, kings' crowns always remained fastened tight on the royal heads; at night a king would pull his coverlet over head and crown, and the crown—and the head also—would surely be there in the morning. However, kings had lost both crowns and heads long before 1793. The most solid of human institutions can change and totter and fall.

Following the French Revolution, democracy prevailed to a greater degree and to a wider extent than ever before. In the World War of 1914 to 1918 the United States fought, in President Wilson's words, "to make the world safe for democracy"; yet the war was scarcely over when challenges to democracy arose, more dangerous than any since the late 1700's.

BASIC CONFLICTS IN POLITICAL THINKING

For Americans the democratic ideal has been most fully expressed in the life and writings of Thomas Jefferson, who epitomized his theory of democracy in the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with

certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

DEMOCRACY AND ITS OPPOSITION

Democracy may be organized and administered in many ways. The people may express their will by one means or another. But they must express their will, must be freemen, or there is no democracy.

Opposed to democracy is any system of government that denies the right of the whole people — or a majority of them regardless of class — to choose their form of government and their officials. An early American patriot who declared that government should be chiefly under the control of "the rich, the wellborn, and the able" was not democratic at heart, Revolutionist though he was. Likewise, anyone who denies the right of the rich, the wellborn, and the able to have a voice in government, along with the rest of the people, is not democratic. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" — of the masses — is no more democracy than is the rule of one man or of a few men. Democracy, after all, is a matter of attitude — live and let live; hear and be heard; govern and be governed.

The manifestations of democracy are extremely various, as people are various. The followers of Jefferson differ widely about details of policy and government. However we label a particular group, we shall find within it extremists on one side and another, with a moderate element between.

PARTIES

In the French national parliamentary bodies — whatever they may have been called at one time and another — it was the custom from the time of the French Revolution to seat the deputies according to their political complexions. In the days

of the Revolution — the First Republic — the highest seats were occupied by the wildest revolutionaries, the republicans of the Mountain; the lower seats, by less radical members, the republicans of the Plain or Marsh.

THE WINGS AND THE CENTER

In later national legislatures of France, as the presiding officer faced the legislative body, the extremists, the most enthusiastic radicals, sat at his left. They were the Left, or the Left Wing. At the other side were the most conservative members, the Right. Between was the group of the Center.

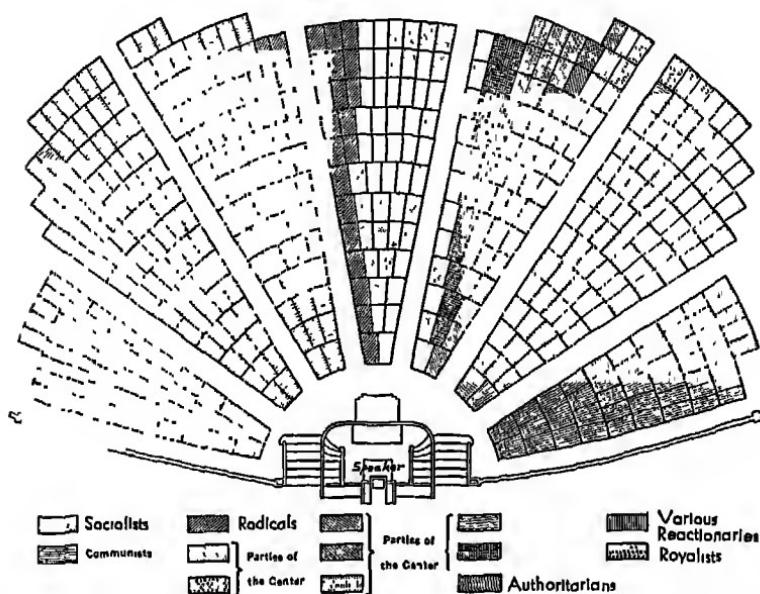
In our time, looking at the European nations generally, we might make a rough classification (with no reference to any actual seating arrangement) as follows:

Left	{ Communists Socialists Radicals generally
Center	{ Liberals, or Progressives Moderates Conservatives
Right	{ Royalists (as on the Continent) Authoritarians Reactionaries generally

Time was when our classification would have been like this:

Left	Liberals, or Progressives
Center	Moderates
Right	Conservatives

Since the rise of Communism on the one side and Authoritarianism on the other, all the old-time groups as known in Great Britain seem to have been Moderate by comparison.



A typical seating arrangement, by parties, in a modern parliament.

Just what extremes of political thinking may be suggested by "left" and "right" will vary from country to country and from decade to decade; but the terms continue in our speech and thinking.

LEFT PARTIES

On the extreme left, the Communist group advocates the abolition of private property, which is the basis of the whole capitalistic system. The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 abolished private ownership, and Russia is the only large nation that has even attempted to operate on a Communistic basis.

Next in line, but not so extreme as the Communists, are the various Socialist groups. On the whole they believe in government ownership of public utilities and perhaps of the

basic industries. The name of a party in many instances does not accurately indicate the nature and program of the group. In France, some of the parties with names that suggested extremism, as Radical Socialists, began as radical groups and gradually through the years became more and more conservative in nature. Not only are there many shades and degrees of political parties; one group within a party, and an individual member also, may be liberal on some issues and decidedly conservative on others. And as he grows older an individual may change his outlook — probably becoming more conservative — and shift his avowed position accordingly.

The various left-wing groups in one country and another have not coöperated effectively. The Socialist groups in France and elsewhere felt that the Communist element was far too ruthless in its program for doing away with the right to hold private property. Such a program would destroy many of the benefits as well as the possible wrongs of private ownership. The Communist group, on its part, usually felt that the Socialists would not go far enough and that they were weak in proposing halfway measures. The "Popular Front" situation in France during the middle 1930's was exceptional. Then all the left-wing parties combined in order to keep the Fascist type of right-wing parties from gaining control of the government. In the Third Republic there were a dozen to fifteen political parties. Any premier had to keep the support of several parties in order to command a majority vote in the Chamber of Deputies and thus maintain his position. French politics were extremely complicated.

CENTER PARTIES

The liberals, or progressives, whether in France or Great Britain, or even in this country, have wished to make non-revolutionary changes for the purpose of improving the present system. On the whole the conservatives have been

pretty well satisfied with the capitalistic system of private property and private control of industry. There is no hard-and-fast dividing line between progressives and conservatives. Much depends on the mental background of the person who may be applying the term "progressive" or "conservative." In a democratic and capitalistic country, with freedom of speech and press taken for granted, a vast majority of the people are found in the middle region, politically.

Great Britain long had a strong Conservative party and a strong Liberal party. Latterly the Labor party has been powerful; from 1929 until 1931 it formed the government. While both the Conservative party and the Liberal party in Britain have supported very liberal measures, they stand to the right of the Labor group.

In the United States we have conservative and liberal factions in each of our major parties. The conservatives in the Democratic party and those in the Republican party, or the liberals in both parties, often stand closer together in ideas than do the conservatives and liberals within either party. This makes it difficult for either party to build a platform broad enough to keep the loyalty of all its factions.

RIGHT PARTIES

On the right are the reactionary groups. Here were the Royalists in the time of the Third Republic in France. The old-fashioned Rightists were given to thinking of the good old days, of the restoration of monarchy, or at least of privilege for favored groups; they distrusted popular government and wished to lessen the voice of the people in politics.

The Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany were classified as being on the right; but each of these groups had been revolutionary in the extreme. Each had at one time and another been all things to all men; each finally resolved all its theory and practice of government into the completely despotic rule of one man, who brought his country and himself to ruin.

WAYS OF DICTATORSHIP AND OF DEMOCRACY

Dictatorship can be of the right, as it was in the Fascist and Nazi systems; or it may be of the left, as it is in the Soviet Union. To Fascists, Nazis, and Communists alike, the state was everything and the individual was important only as he was useful in the purposes of the state. The chief prop of government was the secret police. The state, embracing all interests, was described as *totalitarian*. The origins and first purposes of the three dictatorships were different, however.

BRANDS OF TOTALITARIANISM

The Soviet dictatorship in Russia and Siberia did away with private property — certainly in theory — and set out to build an entirely different system; it did not destroy Russian liberties, for the Russians had enjoyed but few liberties under the Czarist régime. The Italian and German dictatorships took credit for preserving the institution of private property in time of economic collapse and against the threat of Communism; these dictatorships destroyed freedom of speech, press, and religion in lands that had enjoyed a large measure of them. As the years passed the two types of dictatorship, Communist and Nazi or Fascist, came to look more and more alike. The Italian Fascist "monolithic state" and the German Nazi "authoritarian régime" took increasing control of property and business, of the fortunes of the masses and the lives of individuals. Totalitarianism was the common denominator of dictatorship in Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union; and we might add Japan.

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR OF 1914 TO 1918

President Wilson forged a number of slogans that were effective in 1917 and 1918. The war was to be "a war to end war," and it was "to make the world safe for democracy."

Many who were skeptical about the possibility of abolishing war were nevertheless hopeful that democracy could be made secure. The treaties which officially closed the war launched several new republics; and the post-war monarchies of Europe for a while deferred to the democratic ideal; in all these countries there were political parties and there were parliaments.

In Russia, immediately following the overthrow of the Czar in March, 1917, a sincere effort was made, under the leadership of Prince Lvov and several members of the Duma (the ordinarily powerless Russian parliament), to set up a democratic government. Lvov's group failed; and in July, Alexander Kerensky, a moderate Socialist, undertook to carry on. Kerensky failed also, because of his own political inexperience and that of his followers. None of the Russian liberals received the support they should have had from the nations whose fight Russia had been fighting since 1914.

The champions of world-wide democracy, following 1914, failed to realize that it takes long experience and training to develop citizens able to participate intelligently in democratic government. What had been developed through centuries in Great Britain, in some of the other countries of western Europe, and in the United States could not be created overnight in nations without the tradition of freedom. Under the stresses of economic depression and political crises, many of the supposedly democratic countries, and particularly Poland and the Balkan countries, resorted to some form of dictatorship.

The government of Czechoslovakia was an exception. It was enlightened, had wise leadership, and was considered very successful until the country was overwhelmed in the Nazi aggression of 1937. Finland had a high degree of national unity; and, in spite of being next door to Soviet Russia, was able to maintain a liberal government — at least until the Soviet-Finnish War of 1939 to 1940.

THEORETICAL ADVANTAGE OF DICTATORSHIP

The bickerings of blocs motivated by narrow self-interest blind to the general welfare are the bane of democracy and sometimes its ruin. An enlightened dictatorship, a benevolent despotism, can govern for the good of all, can deal summarily with the rats in a nation's granary. But after a benevolent despot like the good Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius there comes to power an infamous tyrant like the Emperor Commodus. It is a rare thing when a good dictator arises; still rarer when a good dictator is followed by another good dictator.

Under an unlimited dictatorship of the recent European model, the dictator has a free hand in foreign affairs as well as in domestic affairs; there is no check by an elective legislative department of government, representing the people. The dictator has an advantage in being able to time his moves for greatest effect. He can launch a daring foreign policy and have it carried out with a speed that cannot perhaps be equaled in any democratic system.

In a democracy the executive head of the government, necessarily in charge of foreign affairs, is largely or fully accountable to the national legislative body. Thus the people's interests are safeguarded, and thus also governmental action is slowed down. True, the executive can take steps that will commit the parliament or the congress of a country irrevocably to this course or that; but the accountability of the executive conduces to caution. The believers in democracy feel that in the long run the slower system, limiting the powers of officials and placing a check on their actions in the hands of the legislative branch of the government, will best serve the interests of mankind.

In the United States in times of crisis and war the President is allowed to assume, and the Congress grants to him, sweeping powers. These lie lays aside, and Congress takes away

from him, when the emergency passes. President Lincoln and President Woodrow Wilson were invested with immense authority. And in the third week of December, 1941, the Congress authorized President Franklin D. Roosevelt to use all the special war powers that it had granted to President Wilson during the previous world conflict.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY

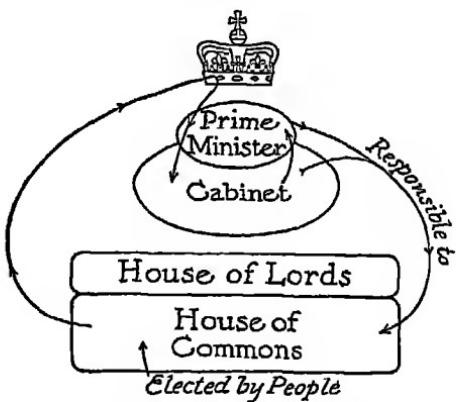
British democracy was built with the slowness of a coral reef, and like a coral reef it has stood while the mud-island democracies of some other nations have been swept away. Not only has British democracy stood; it has extended. Its offshoots are this country of ours and the self-governing British dominions. The English-speaking countries taken together constitute the great bulwark of democracy.

GRADUAL GROWTH OF BRITISH POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The people of Great Britain achieved the degree of democracy that they now possess through eight hundred years and more of effort. Slowly the powers of the Norman monarchs and their successors were pared down. Vigorous or willful monarchs might encroach on the rights of their subjects. Charles I did so, and for that he was beheaded. His sons Charles II and James II, when kingship was restored, likewise overreached, and James was dethroned and sent into exile. Rather tardily but nevertheless surely the privileges of the nobility and other favored groups were lessened. Still there is entrenched privilege in Great Britain, but it is now defending its last ditch.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

The government of Great Britain is a parliamentary system, rather different from our national government. According to



The relations of "King, Lords, and Commons" in the government of Great Britain. The House of Lords has become chiefly an honorary body; the King, the social head of the realm rather than the political head. The King reigns only at the pleasure of Parliament (virtually, at the pleasure of the House of Commons). Nominally, the King names the Prime Minister; actually, the House of Commons makes or unmakes a Prime Minister as it chooses, and he is wholly responsible to it. The people, through their representatives in the House of Commons, are the real rulers of Great Britain.

ancient formula, "the government of the realm is by King, Lords, and Commons." But for some two hundred and fifty years Parliament, composed of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, has really been supreme. And within living memory the House of Commons has gained supremacy over the House of Lords. The House of Commons is the heart and center of the British government. The members of the Commons are elected directly by the people. The majority party (the Conservative party in recent years) of the Commons selects the Prime Minister, who is the active executive head of the government. The Prime Minister selects from among the members of Parliament the members of a Cabinet. Nominally the King appoints the Prime Minister and the members of "His Majesty's Government"; but the King's part is mostly one of ancient ceremonial.

The Prime Minister, assisted by the Cabinet ministers, formulates governmental policies, and the actions of His Majesty's government are open to discussion and to the vote of the House of Commons. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is one of the most important members of the Cabinet. Whenever a policy, foreign or domestic, is open to serious question, the House of Commons may consider the matter and vote against the Cabinet. In that case the Prime Minister and the entire Cabinet resign. Sometimes if the Foreign Minister only is under fire he alone may resign. If the Prime Minister feels that public opinion is for him, he may request the King to call a special election for Commons. The government "goes before the country," or "to the people." The Commons, with good reason, are very careful about turning against the Prime Minister. The ordeal of a political campaign and the uncertainty of reelection are not inviting prospects for members of the House of Commons. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet being directly and continuously responsible to the House of Commons, both domestic and foreign affairs are carried on with the idea of maintaining a majority vote in favor of the government. At the same time the Commons cannot afford to act capriciously or irresponsibly; they may lose their seats in the House if the people, when appealed to, choose to endorse the government. If a government contrives to stay in power for five years, it must call a national election as a matter of course. This is a wise safeguard of democracy against the danger of usurpation by a Cabinet. In a time of extreme war peril a national election can be postponed, even at the end of a five-year period, as happened during World War I and again during World War II.

One of the bad features of the parliamentary system of the Third Republic of France consisted in this, that the Cabinet was entirely responsible to the French national legislature, which could turn the Cabinet out at will and without appeal to the people. The result was fantastic political intrigue on the

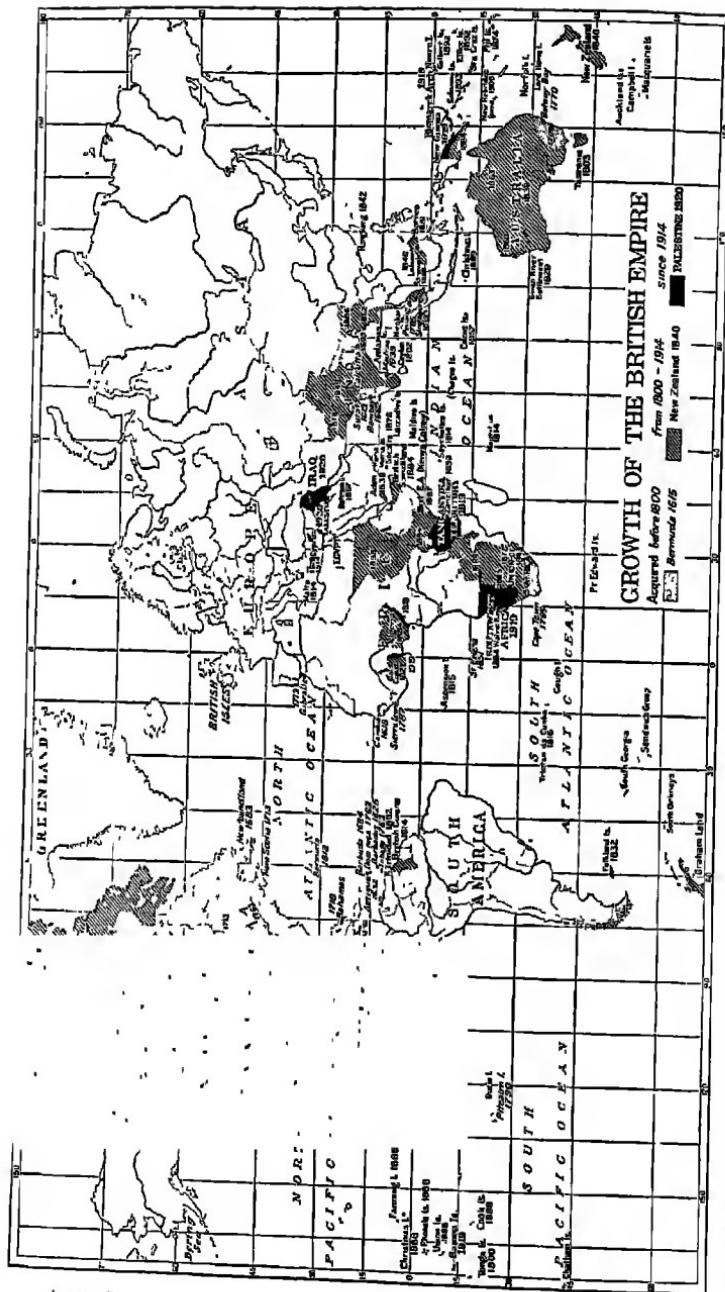
part of many different political parties and blocs, an unending succession of Cabinets, and finally national unpreparedness for the trials that came in 1939 and 1940.

The British Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet are political leaders and serve only while their party is in power. Foreign Ministers have the direct responsibility for formulating policies; they come and go, but the Foreign Office goes on forever. In the Foreign Office are men, perhaps little known, who are career men and devote their lives to government service. The force and stability of British foreign policies and the effectiveness of British diplomacy reflect the efforts of these quiet, hard-working specialists in the Foreign Office.

While the House of Commons controls the Cabinet and the Cabinet determines policies, the government is always called "His Majesty's Government." Treaties are made in the name of the King, and a treaty may or may not require direct ratification by Parliament. It depends on the nature of the particular treaty whether Parliament must pass legislation to carry out its provisions. However, the House of Commons can compel a general election over a treaty question as well as over any other.

GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British had their civil wars in the seventeenth and earlier centuries; and the American Revolution was in a sense a civil war. From that war the British learned some of the things that they must do if they wished to maintain their Empire; and one of these was to keep reform always just a little ahead of revolution. The British have made many mistakes, some of the heart and some of the head; but they have been a major stabilizing force in the modern world. No people understand better than do the British how to adjust their system to ever-changing conditions, avoiding violent internal upheavals. Extremely important changes in the British con-



The black areas on this map indicate additions to the British Empire that were made directly or indirectly as a result of the World War of 1914 to 1918. Some of the annexations (mandates under the League of Nations) were to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; they were not made directly to Great Britain, the mother country.

stitution were made in 1931, when the "British Commonwealth of Nations" came into being.

1. *The Statute of Westminster (1931).* Imperial conferences, with representation from the English-speaking units of the Empire and from India, have been held at intervals since 1911. Those of 1926 and 1930 made declarations concerning the nature of the Empire, which were incorporated in the Statute of Westminster, passed by Parliament in 1931. This statute sanctioned, rather than brought about, a drastic change in the nature of the Empire. It recognized six commonwealths: the Dominion of Canada; the Commonwealth of Australia; the Dominion of New Zealand; the Union of South Africa; the Irish Free State; and the Dominion of Newfoundland. These became for all practical purposes independent governments. The British Parliament retained no power to legislate for the dominions, and each dominion's own legislative body was left to draw up all its laws. However, the legislature of a dominion may consent to an act of Parliament and so give it force within the dominion. The Statute of Westminster recognized the right of each dominion to send and receive ambassadors and to make treaties with foreign nations. Newfoundland in 1933 relinquished its dominion status because of its very bad financial condition. It is being ruled by a royal governor and a special commission of six members until the country can again be made self-supporting.

Aside from the units that participate in Imperial Conferences, the Empire, of course, includes numerous territories designated as crown colonies and protectorates. Some of the dominions themselves hold mandated areas, theoretically under authority from the League of Nations.

The title of the King of Great Britain, as significantly revised in 1927, was as follows: "By the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." The Crown and the Crown alone remained as the one binding symbol

of loyalty; and that is why the prestige of the King is not only important in Great Britain but of deep significance in holding the Empire together.

Some persons felt that granting full independent rights to the governments of the dominions meant the weakening of the Empire; the dominions were developing industrially and were primarily interested in their own problems and advancement. Others felt that the relinquishment of central supervision by London made possible a new loyalty of the dominions that would strengthen the bonds of empire; on a voluntary basis the dominions would coöperate more fully than on any basis of force. Events indicate that the solidarity of the Empire continues. There are real advantages of trade and protection in being within the British Empire. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa voluntarily came to the side of the mother country in World War II.

2. *The Ottawa Conference (1932).* The Imperial Conference held at Ottawa in 1932 was for the purpose of stimulating trade within the Empire. Since Great Britain had set up a system of higher tariffs the year before, she was in a position to grant privileges to the dominions. She reduced her tariff about 10 per cent on foods and raw materials coming from the dominions. In turn, the dominions granted special privileges to British manufactured goods. The conference did not accomplish as much as had been hoped. This Ottawa agreement has been a stumbling block to the negotiation of a reciprocal trade agreement between the United States and Great Britain. If Great Britain granted to the United States or to other nations privileges equal to those granted to the dominions, much of the benefit of membership in the Empire would be lost to the dominions. Great Britain has had special trade agreements with the Scandinavian nations; but the products the British take from those nations are in the main different from the products of any of the dominions, so that competition there is negligible.

"DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" IN RUSSIA

In 1914, Czarist Russia remained faithful to her pledge made in the Dual Alliance with France and broadened in the Triple Entente. For three years and a little longer Russia fought stubbornly against the Central Powers, sustaining greater losses in men and materials than any of her allies. Russia, though vast and with some concentrations of wealth, was a land of poor people. Many of them were at all times discontented, and the endless hardships of a war they could not understand caused them to lend ready ears to agitators. The harder the pounding by the armies of the Central Powers, the weaker the Czarist government became even at home, and the bolder the agitators of one stamp and another became.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

In March, 1917, a group of liberal leaders overturned the old government with little trouble, and the Czar abdicated almost with alacrity. In July of the same year Alexander Kerensky, a moderate Socialist, came into control; but he failed to gain general popular support.

When Russia was in straits the Germans undertook to speed her military breakdown from within. Russian radicals exiled in other countries were eager to return to Russia and enter political activities. Nikolai Lenin and others in Switzerland were transported in a sealed railway coach across the territories of the Central Powers, and they contrived to send them safely through the battle lines into Russia.

Lenin, an old hand at revolutionary activities, often an exile, went to Petrograd, and there he laid plans for seizing control of Russia. (Petrograd, now Leningrad, was then still the capital of Russia. Down to 1914 it had been called St. Petersburg.) On November 7, Petrograd fell into the hands of Lenin and his followers, the Bolsheviks. Rapidly the movement spread to Moscow and the other towns and cities. The

disorganization and disorder in Russia had given Lenin his great opportunity; but having seized control, he was at once faced with the difficult job of establishing a stable government and bringing the land out of chaos. The extreme leftist, having come into supreme authority, could not go on as a destructive revolutionist; he was under the necessity to rule.

Lenin, with Trotsky as his minister of war and marine, obtained peace with Germany by yielding much of the western area of Russia under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Freed of further part in the World War, the Reds proceeded ruthlessly to stamp out domestic opposition and to establish what they called "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Conservatives had to conform or die, unless they were able to flee the country. The whole vast land, stretching from the Gulf of Finland to the Sea of Japan, was organized as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.); all property was in theory nationalized. The term "soviet" means a council or governing body. There are village and town soviets, soviets of one region and another, and a Supreme Soviet.

WARFARE AGAINST THE REDS

Some Czarists formed small armies in one part of the country and another; and with the aid of Russia's recent allies these "White Russians" made war on the Red Russians, or Bolsheviks, or Marxists, or Communists. Most persons outside of Russia had the greatest fear and even hatred of Bolshevism and the new Russian order. For a time, by the order of our President, American troops fought the Red Russians in the region of the White Sea and also in the neighborhood of Vladivostok. When Poland had been reconstituted, after the Versailles Treaty, the Russians got into a disastrous war with that country. Thus, from 1917 to 1921, the Russian people reaped the full harvest of war and betrayal, at home and abroad.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE POSITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Following the period of struggle and destruction in Red Russia came a more constructive period. Lenin's New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) was intended to get industry and business to moving again. This policy encouraged work by allowing some private business and some private profit. The policy was announced as a temporary expedient; nevertheless, it constituted a departure from the theory of Communism.

Lenin died in 1924; and Joseph Stalin, in control of the Communist Party, was able to dominate the government. In 1928 the First Five-Year Plan was launched. Its purpose was to expand and stimulate production in industry, mining, transportation, and farming. The goal set required very rapid expansion. The Second and Third Five-Year Plans followed, the third becoming merged in the war effort. After the defeat of the Axis Powers three consecutive Five-Year Plans were projected, to run until 1960.

Through the 1920's, when European conditions were improving and there was less fear of the spread of Communism, the relations of Russia with other nations gradually improved. Commercial relations were entered into by one country and another with Russia; afterward government after government recognized the U.S.S.R. as a member of the family of nations. In 1933 the United States recognized Russia, and since then we have sent and received ambassadors. In 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations. She was expelled by the League Assembly in December, 1939, because of her attack on Finland.

Following 1933, with the rise of Hitler in Germany and with mounting Japanese aggressions in Asia, Russia placed more emphasis on war preparations and less, of necessity, on her domestic development. In August, 1939, just before Germany's invasion of Poland, came the German-Soviet Alliance. Russia occupied the eastern portion of Poland and took over control of the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia,

whose territories had belonged to Russia until 1917. In 1939 to 1940 Russia made war against Finland, to which had been assigned strategic territory at the front door of Leningrad; and, after a poor first showing, the Russians took the strategic spots which they had demanded. In June, 1941, Russia was invaded by Germany, with which country she had been co-operating for almost two years (pages 278–282).

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

In theory the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is conducted under a constitution. The first Soviet constitution was adopted in 1918; the second, in 1923; the third, in 1936.

The present constitution provides for universal suffrage by secret ballot. Practically all men and women who have reached or passed the age of eighteen may and do vote.

The principal legislative body is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which is elected for four years and meets twice a year. Theoretically, this body is supreme in all governmental matters. It consists of two houses: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The members of the Soviet of the Union, numbering more than 600, are elected directly by the voters throughout the U.S.S.R. There is one deputy for each 300,000 inhabitants with an electoral area or district.

The members of the Soviet of Nationalities, numbering some 700 deputies, are chosen by the voters in the several Soviet Republics, and other national or racial areas which together make up the U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. — the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in joint session — elects the Presidium, which consists of a president and other officers. The Presidium, theoretically, may exercise vast executive, legislative, and judicial powers when the Supreme Soviet is not in session.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appoints a Council of People's Commissars [commissioners], which the constitution of 1936 calls "the highest executive and administrative organ of state authority."

The constitution states that freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of assembly are guaranteed. Concerning religion the constitution says: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." (There is ample evidence that these guarantees are not upheld in practice.)

The Communist party is the only party recognized by the constitution, although persons who do not belong to the party may vote and hold office. The party limits its membership to "the most active and politically most conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class"; it does not take in everybody who may wish to join it, on occasion it has sharply reduced its membership.

The constitution states that the Communist (Bolshevik) party "is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." The Central Executive Committee of this party chooses a small executive committee called the Political Bureau, and it is this bureau, dominated by Joseph Stalin, which is the actual executive head of the U.S.S.R.

Until 1941 Joseph Stalin held no office other than that of Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. In that year he became Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. — in effect, premier. He is also chairman of the State Committee for Defense.

One can find all kinds of accounts of Soviet Russia; some writers are inclined to condemn everything Russian and some are inclined to praise everything. Very obviously it is necessary to check the time when this or that article or book was written about Russia and to take into account the particular prejudices of the writer and the attitude prevailing toward Russia at the time of his writing.

FASCISM IN ITALY

Before the war of 1914 to 1918 Italy had long been in a bad way financially. The country is not naturally rich, for it lacks mineral resources, timber, and arable land; but to keep up appearances as a power the government spent vast sums on its armed forces and particularly on its navy. The drain of three years of warfare (1915 to 1918) on Italian resources made matters worse. That Italy's premier, Vittorio Orlando, was one of the Big Four at Paris, and that Italy took over Trieste and later Fiume also, did not help her situation appreciably.

WHAT MUSSOLINI DID TO HIS COUNTRY

The years 1919, 1920, and 1921 were years of general agitation and unrest in Italy. There were labor disputes and strikes, and there was agitation by politicians of the leftist groups. With the example of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia fresh in the minds of the people — still practically before their eyes — the conservative and middle-of-the-road elements in Italy took fright. They were ready to welcome a leader, a giant killer, who might save them from the Red menace; and one arose.

Benito Mussolini, journalist, war veteran, and ex-Socialist agitator who had more than once been jailed for his activities, in 1921 organized a following called the *Fascisti*. The name "Fascist" was coined from the Latin word *fascis* (plural, *fasces*), meaning the bundle of rods which was the ancient Roman symbol of authority. The *Fascisti* were chiefly young men who, besides following Mussolini, affected the wearing of black shirts as a uniform.

In 1922 Mussolini and the Black Shirts undertook to save Italy from Mussolini's former party comrades, the Socialists, and also from Communists and other radicals. Economic conditions had begun to improve and agitation was on the wane. The government, however, was ineffectual and the King lacked initiative. Some fifty thousand Black Shirts marched on

Rome, there to demand a stiffening of the government. It is said that General Pietro Badoglio asked the King, Victor Emmanuel III, to let the army deal with this crowd, and that the King refused, saying that he would not have Italian blood spilled. Thereupon the premier resigned and the King called Mussolini to head the Cabinet.

Mussolini kept the form of the old government but so strengthened the executive powers of the premier that he created a dictatorship. He styled himself "head of the government of Italy" and took more than half of the Cabinet posts himself. Popularly he was known as *Il Duce*, "the Leader." He demanded and received the complete support of the legislative branch of the government. Brutal suppression of opposition parties, censorship of speech and press, and military expansion followed. In the early period of Fascist power there was no clear-cut program. When asked what was the chief object of Fascism, he answered, "Its duration." Mussolini gradually brought the local governments under direct control of Rome and centralized all administrative power in a totalitarian régime, or what he sometimes called "a corporate state." For the people of Italy he laid down the rule and motto, "Believe, obey, fight!"

In 1939 Mussolini abolished the Chamber of Deputies. The Italian Senate continued to exist, but solely as an honorary body.

NAZISM IN GERMANY

At the beginning of November of 1918, after four years of exhausting warfare, German morale was shattered from top to bottom. Some sailors mutinied at Hamburg, and presently all Germany was in a state of revolution. A republic was proclaimed on the 9th of November (page 209); on the 10th the Kaiser fled into the Netherlands; and on the 11th the army, with the home front broken, entered into an armistice with the Allied and Associated Powers.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

A National Assembly met at Weimar early in 1919. It chose as president of the republic the Socialist Friedrich Ebert, a saddle maker by trade; and it drew up a liberal constitution. Upon the Weimar Republic fell the odium of having to accept the Treaty of Versailles.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Before the war of 1914 to 1918 there had developed in Germany a series of political parties ranging from far to the left to the extreme right. In the time of disorganization following the Armistice a group of Communists who called themselves Spartacists tried to overthrow such order as there was. They were machine-gunned out of existence.

During the 1920's the parties of the center held the balance of power in the German Reichstag, or Parliament (page 84). In this period Germany was under the control of moderate men, and there seemed to be a chance for solving the problem of reparations and other post-war difficulties.

FAILURE OF THE REPUBLIC

The men of the Weimar Republic made a sincere effort to establish a genuine and lasting democracy in their country. But they lacked support at home; and foreign nations hindered rather than helped the Weimar experiment. The country began to make reparation payments, largely out of money borrowed in the United States and never to be repaid. When the reparation requirements were not met to the letter early in 1923, possibly because they could not be, the French occupied the Ruhr industrial area and held it for more than two years (page 211).

In spite of many obstacles the German republic seemed to be succeeding; the country seemed to be making a remarkable

recovery. Each year Germany continued to borrow from this country until world depression came, engulfing the United States as well as Germany. Economic depression plunged Germany once more into the depths of political distress. As in Italy a few years earlier, the stage was set for a giant killer.

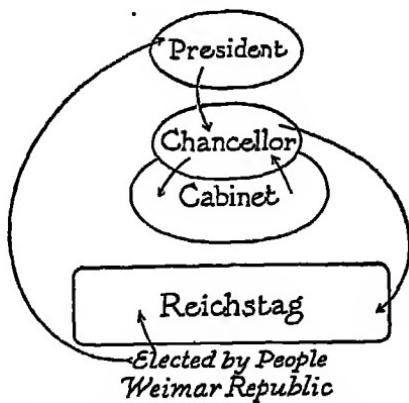
HITLER AND THE NAZIS

The giant killer appeared in the person of Adolf Hitler, who founded the National Socialist German Workers' party, the *National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* — the Nazi party, for short. We shall note Hitler's career more particularly on pages 235 to 244.

The ideas of the Nazis were originally nationalistic rather than socialistic. In a number of ways Hitler followed the example of Mussolini on the road to power. Both men headed dynamic minority groups clamoring for power; neither had previously held government office; each appealed to the people by successfully maintaining that his program would save the nation. In practice each had a deep contempt for the people and subordinated human values to national prestige. Neither minded the shedding of blood, especially if he himself did not have to witness the process. Each was able to take hold of the government during an unsettled, critical period.

Hitler promised the German people anything and everything, for he was the perfect type of demagogue. He promised to tear up the Treaty of Versailles; to get back the former German colonies; to restore Germany to prosperity and power.

The National Socialist party of Hitler did not appear in an election before 1924, and then it polled less than 10 per cent of the votes cast. Not until the world depression did the Nazis rise to a position of great strength. Then they made enormous gains; but the Communists also made gains. The moderate center parties were being squeezed by both extremes. In desperation the people felt they must turn either to the extreme right or the extreme left. The final Parliamentary elec-

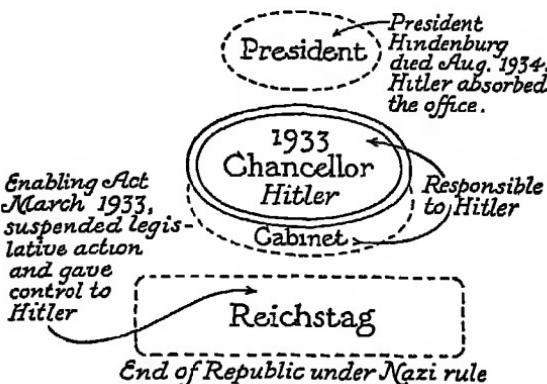


The National Assembly that met at Weimar early in 1919 chose Friedrich Ebert as the provisional first President of Germany. Ebert's term was prolonged by the Reichstag. When he died in office, in 1925, a national popular election was held, and General Paul von Hindenburg was elected President. Hindenburg was reelected in 1932. According to the Weimar constitution the German President appointed the Chancellor, or Premier, and the Chancellor appointed a Cabinet which was responsible to him. The Chancellor was theoretically responsible to the Reichstag, which was elected by the people.

tion in 1933, after Hitler had been named Chancellor by President von Hindenburg in 1933, gave the National Socialist party 44.5 per cent of the seats in the Reichstag; but this was still short of a working majority. Thereupon the Nationalists, composed of industrialists and large landholders, who had 8 per cent of the votes, joined with the Nazis. As a result of this combination the Reichstag passed an Enabling Act which gave full control of the government to Hitler: and thus Hitler became a dictator. The National Socialist party became the sole political party. All other parties were outlawed; their newspapers were suppressed and their leaders were "liquidated."

From the time he gained control of Germany, Hitler undertook to build up the armed forces of the Reich, and particularly the army and the air force, the *Luftwaffe*. He made of all Germany a colossal modern Sparta, whose only business that really mattered was war.

SYSTEMS AND IDEALS OF GOVERNMENT



The men of Weimar did not design the office of Chancellor to fit the purposes of a usurper; but the result of their efforts was much the same as if they had done so. Soon after Hitler had gained the Chancellorship, President Hindenburg died and the Reichstag practically committed suicide. Hitler ruled alone.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Define the political terms "left," "right," and "center."
2. What are some of the characteristic methods used by dictators to win control of a country and to keep power?
3. Did the Statute of Westminster create a new order in the British Empire, or did it, rather, describe and regularize conditions that had come to exist? What have been the results of the course of action which allowed the formation of the "British Commonwealth of Nations" within the Empire?
4. Compare the principal steps in the careers of Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler.
5. Authorities have said that it was a world tragedy that economic and political problems were not courageously and ably dealt with during the 1920's. What were some of those problems? Why was there a better chance in the 1920's than later?
6. War and revolution often go hand in hand. Give examples, and explain why this may be frequently the case.
7. Explain why democratic systems and dictatorial systems of government have not been able to get along together in the world.

8. In a democratic system there is always the feeling that "another election is coming." Why is this of the essence of democracy?
9. Some historians maintain that foreign policies grow out of domestic problems and policies. Give examples, if you can, to illustrate this point.
10. In times of great national peril the citizens of the ancient Roman Republic would choose a dictator whose power was to be absolute for one year and no longer. Why was this a good plan, in theory at least?
11. In the vast ancient Persian Empire, the satraps (governors) of outlying provinces ruled almost as kings in their own right; sometimes two satraps, both acknowledging the Great King of Persia, would make war on each other. Why is such a condition impossible in a modern dictatorship? What factors make complete tyranny over an immense population possible in our time as it was never possible in former ages?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Let members of the class list a number of the political and social principles of Thomas Jefferson. Where Jefferson's exact words can be quoted, quote them. Let other members of the class list the comparable — but largely opposed — principles of Alexander Hamilton. If you make comparisons, remember that both men were very necessary to our country.
2. Find out what you can about the more formidable blocs in the Congress of the United States on the eve of the war in which we are now engaged. What was the effect of blocs in the National Assembly of France on the fortunes of the Third Republic?
3. At the close of 1937 the government of each of the following countries, no matter what it was called, was actually dictatorial or else was democratic; make a classification: Great Britain, Switzerland, Turkey, France, Japan, Russia, Norway, Finland, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Eire, China, Iran, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, the Netherlands, and Belgium.
4. In works on the recent history of Germany, or elsewhere, find out about the Nazis' "Reichstag fire." Let one or more students report to the class on this occurrence.
5. Let two or more students report to the class what they can find out about the part that Emperor Hirohito actually took in the government of Japan prior to the Japanese surrender in 1945.

CHAPTER

6

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND WORLD TRADE

*F*ROM time immemorial political troubles and wars have had their taproots in economic situations. The American Civil War, according to Abraham Lincoln's expressed view, was fought over the political and legal issue of states' rights; but many of those who took part in it on either side felt that the struggle was over slavery as a question of right or wrong. Basically, however, that war was a death struggle between two economic systems: the industrial North with a free-labor system was opposed to the agricultural South with a slave-labor system. Economic factors are commonly decisive, and a grasp of them will often give insight into the domestic and foreign policies of one government and another.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAND AND ITS LOCATION

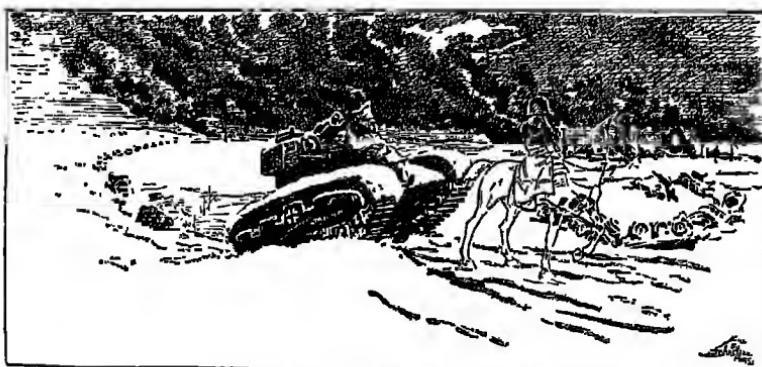
Some geographers of standing, and notably Ellsworth Huntington, maintain that the level of culture of a people — the very worth of a people — depends directly on the geography and climate of their land. They have hold of a truth, or a part truth; probably they go too far in their conclusion.

THE LAND AS CONDITIONER OF THE LIFE OF ITS PEOPLE

Clearly, the particular products of a land determine what kinds of goods can be exported and what kinds must be im-

ported. Many food habits and customs that seem strange to us can be accounted for as the direct result of special local conditions. Whether human habitations are made of wood, bamboo, hides, ice blocks, bricks, mud, or stone is a result of natural conditions. For food, clothing, and shelter, men use available materials as best they can, whether they find these materials on the surface of the land, deep in the ground, or in the water. A great amount and variety of material resources makes possible — but does not by any means guarantee — a high degree of cultural life.

Climate is obviously a most important factor in the affairs of mankind. It is generally considered — certainly by writers in temperate zones — that the temperate climate provides the best setting for human activity. In the Arctic regions most of the energies of the Eskimos have gone into the struggle for survival against the cold. In the tropics the equable warm temperature is perhaps enervating to some people or peoples. But the Filipinos, fighting bravely and effectively to defend their homeland, are not an enervated people; races of mighty builders have in the past flourished in tropical lands. The Mayas and other civilized Indians of tropical America left huge



Winter in Russia. The shade of the Man on Horseback (1812) leads the way for the man of the *Panzer Divisionen* (1941 to 1942). A cartoon by Will B. Johnstone, in the New York *World-Telegram*

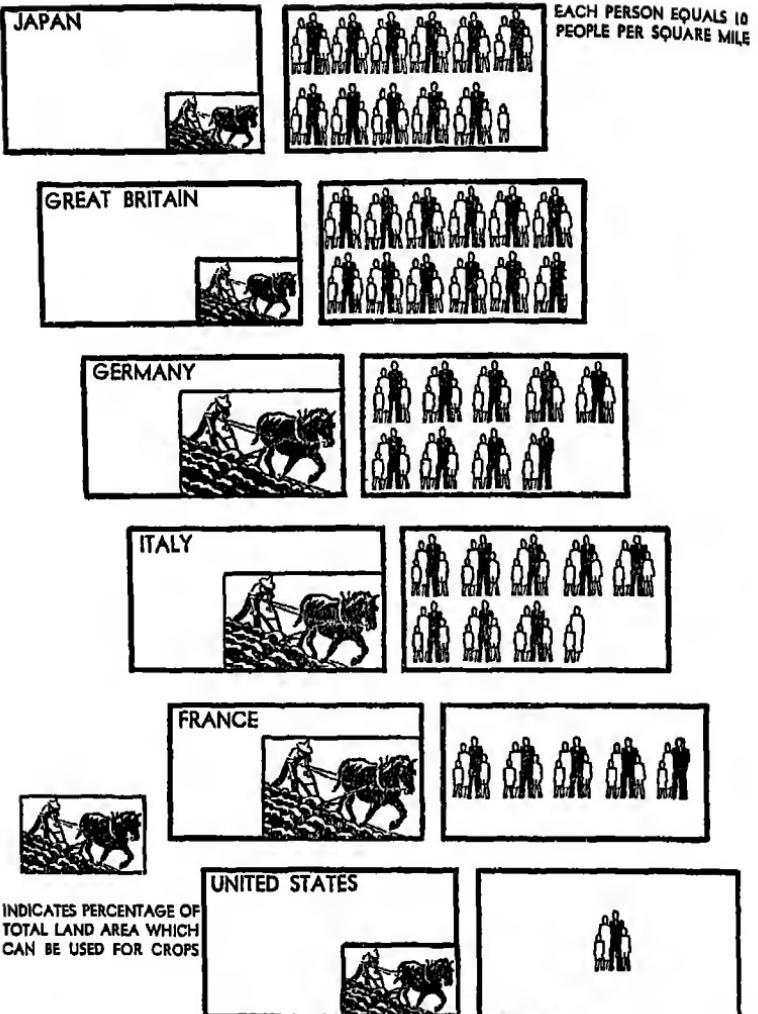
structures that forever attest their industry and capacity; and the same may be said of the ancient peoples of India, Java, Cambodia, and still other Old World tropical lands. The learned doctors disagree about the particular effects of this or that climate; but whether or not a port is ice-free all the year round will always make a difference. And still "General January and General February" are mighty defenders of Russia in time of war; even Colonel December outgeneraled Hitler in 1941.

Political geography, too, has a tremendous influence on national life. The small nations in Europe, by virtue of their location, have lived for generations and centuries in dread of invasion; and all of them have been invaded. Poland, not a small nation but in modern times a weak one, has been repeatedly partitioned by her more powerful neighbors. Turkey, in possession of Constantinople, now Istanbul, has had this or that nation of western Europe as a "friend" or as an enemy, all in accordance with the latest move in the game of power politics, the age-old game for control of the Dardanelles.

THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES AS A FACTOR

A people, like an individual, can do much or little with the gifts of nature. The Scandinavians, the Finns, and the Swiss occupy lands of limited natural resources; but those peoples, with thrift, industry, and high intelligence, long ago learned to make much of little. For the materials they lacked they turned to honest trade, not conquest. They certainly were "have nots," and yet they managed to maintain a very high standard of living.

Belgium with more than 700 people per square mile, the densest population in all Europe, prior to 1940 had a well-balanced economic system. To an extent, possession of the Belgian Congo helped in the balancing. The country had coal and some excellent farming land, or rather gardening land; but resources were totally inadequate to the support of



Both Japan and Great Britain have limited and greatly crowded homeland areas, only small parts of which can be farmed. Italy and France have been better off with respect to land. The United States have a comparatively small part of their area available for crops; but the immense total area of the country and its smaller population to the square mile give it a tremendous advantage over France or Italy or Germany, each with a greater part of its total land area tillable. Limited mineral resources add to the economic difficulties of Japan and Italy. What to do about such difficulties of a nation is a problem for the world as well as for the particular nation; clearly, the conquest of other nations whose predicament may be worse affords no solution. This graph is from *Peaceful Change*, a Headline Book of the Foreign Policy Association.

the population, without the help of foreign trade. Specialized industries were developed long ago, and many skilled workmen were employed in them. The products included lace, glassware, textiles, and manufactures of iron and steel. The imports were largely wheat, wool, cotton, hides, metals, and tropical products of the Congo.

The "indomitable Dutch," the people of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, have by their foresight and energy made of themselves a nation with influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Like the Belgians, they have reaped material advantage from the possession of colonies, particularly the naturally rich Netherlands East Indies.

THE POSSESSION OF RAW MATERIALS AND THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS

The location of natural resources, the securing of raw materials, and systems of foreign trade whereby the different peoples exchange goods to mutual advantage, these are vital matters. The fundamental problem of distribution is as old as man; yet specific problems change as human needs and the methods of industry change from decade to decade, or even from year to year.

THE INVENTION OF NEW MATERIALS

In recent years the development of synthetic and plastic products has effected sweeping changes in materials employed for many uses, entailing great changes in industry; and the prospects are that many more changes are in store. Rayon was making inroads into the silk industries of Japan and Italy and France for some years when the newer nylon and still other silk substitutes also came into the market. It is of interest to note that Japan and Italy became leading nations in the manufacture of silk substitutes. If a large part of the trade that took silk desired silk substitutes, the Japanese and the

Italians wished still to hold that trade for whatever it chose to buy. The Italians in particular made great progress in the manufacture of fibers to replace the natural article. Their lanitol is an excellent substitute for wool.

In this country and in Germany various "elastics," sometimes incorrectly called "synthetic rubber," have been in production for a number of years. For some purposes these serve better than rubber. However, when rubber is obtainable it is cheaper than a substitute material.

The expansion of the use of plastic products for many articles has been changing the demand for raw materials. Plastics of the bakelite type require new supplies of a particular wood. At the same time plastic substitutes tend to lessen the demand for amber, ivory, and many other materials, ranging from common to precious. Excellent plastic substitutes for hog bristles now compete with the highest quality of genuine bristles which were supplied chiefly by Japan, China, and Siberia before the Second World War.

There is no telling how much change in manufactures and commerce will come about as a result of the development of plastic, synthetic, and substitute products.

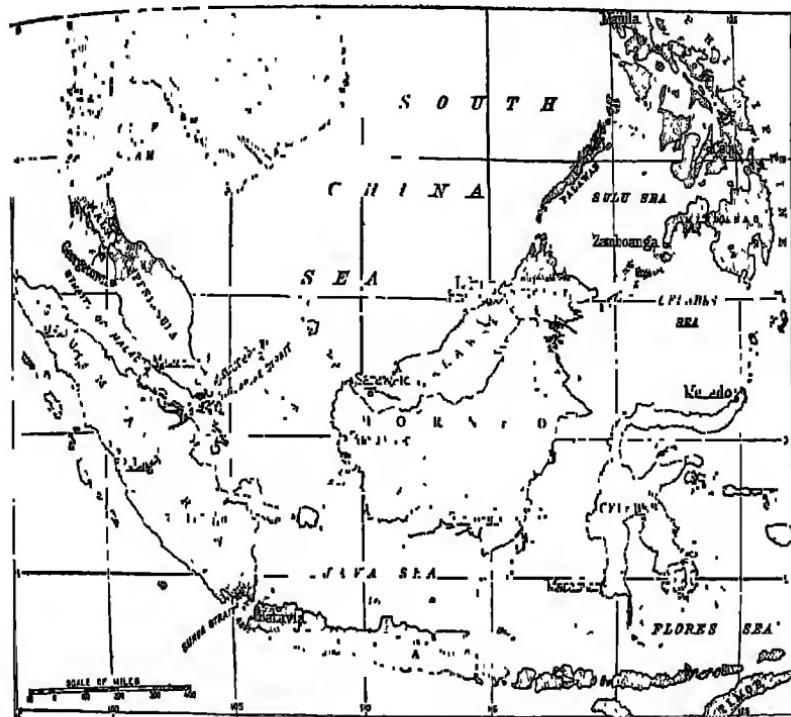
DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AMONG COUNTRIES

There are two major phases of the problem of distribution of resources: distribution among the nations and distribution among the people within a country.

Because of unsettled conditions throughout the world, accurate recent figures on production and commerce are not available for many countries. A satisfactory table is provided by Dr. Brooks Emeny,¹ whose work is based on figures for 1925 to 1929. Economic and other troubles since 1929 have upset the affairs of mankind, and therefore the figures for the four

¹ Simonds, F. H., and Emeny, B., *The Great Powers in World Politics*, pages 75-76 American Book Company, New York, 1937.

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND WORLD TRADE



The southeasternmost peninsula of Asia, the East Indies, and the Philippine Islands, lands that were long coveted by the Japanese for their great natural wealth in tin, petroleum, rubber, and Manila hemp (*abacá*). Of the Netherlands East Indies, Java is the richest island. The Japanese paid a frightful price in lives in their effort to take and hold the lands shown on this map. Following the Japanese defeat in 1945, the people of the Netherlands East Indies rose in revolt against the return of European exploitation.

years specified serve better than later figures for such comparisons as we wish to make here. Basic resources do not change very much unless there is a change of territory.

In the table, notice that the United States supply fully—or can supply fully—their own petroleum needs and still have an exportable surplus. (Some petroleum is imported, nevertheless, refiners buying from foreign sources wherever and whenever it may be cheaper to do so.) Russia also supplies all its own needs and exports surplus petroleum. A more

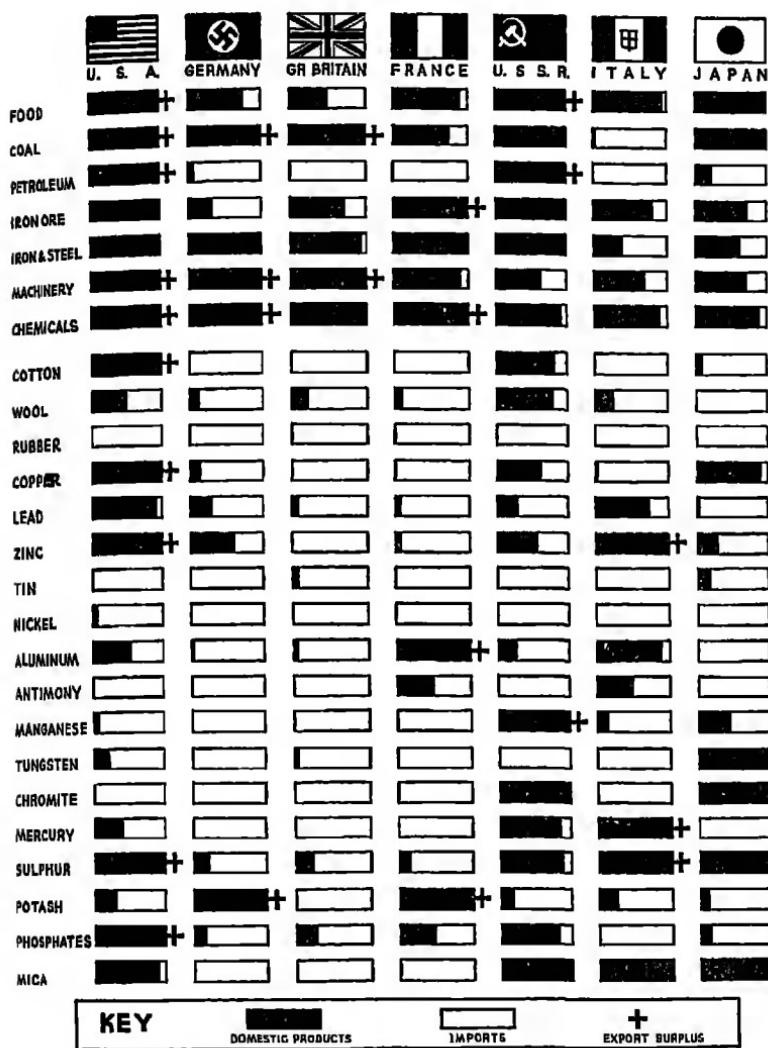
detailed tabulation would clearly indicate that the people of the United States use about six times as much oil per capita as do the people of Russia. Compare the different nations with reference to the production and use of other commodities, and it is obvious that different peoples use markedly different amounts, per capita, of various raw materials. In part this variation is a result of great differences in the demands of industry in one nation and another. To a greater extent it is a result of differences in standards of living among the various peoples.

War and preparation for war divert goods from the people to the armament industries. For a nation to carry on a large-scale war the people must give up luxuries and even necessities, either voluntarily or by compulsion of law. Study again the table by Dr. Emeny, noting particularly the resources of Germany. The outside world was amazed at the extent of German military preparations in the light of German resources. But long before the shooting war began in 1939 the German people were doing without many of the good things of life in order to make guns, and the slogan was, "Guns rather than butter." With the Japanese the situation was even more remarkable; they were like a vast swarm of bees from whom the last bit of honey was taken for the service of the god of war.

WORLD TRADE

With the ever-continuing expansion of the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain and afterward France and Germany and other nations felt an ever-increasing need for raw materials and for wider markets. Great Britain and France became more interested than before in securing as colonies and "spheres of influence" regions which might at once supply materials and buy finished products. Thus grew and flourished the imperialism, the scramble for foreign possessions, that was so prominent a feature of world politics in the nineteenth century.

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND WORLD TRADE



The extent to which each of the great powers was able to fill its own needs for essential raw materials, in the 1930's. The United States were most nearly self-sufficient. This graph is adapted from Brooks Emeny's *The Strategy of Raw Materials*, and it is here reproduced, as it appeared in *Building America*, by courtesy of Dr. Emeny and the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University.

IMPERIALISM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

The imperialism of the eighteenth century and earlier times was conceived in terms of political control: trade was supposed to follow the flag. Toward the end of the nineteenth century men began to speak of "economic imperialism." The British pound, the French franc, the German mark, also the salesmen of the nations, might go where the several flags did not necessarily go. There was competition, sometimes fierce, for the markets of China, Africa, South America, and every other region not yet highly industrialized.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION

To further the ends of trade Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century maintained a policy of free trade. British tariffs were at a minimum, and when imposed their purpose was to produce needed revenue; it was no part of their purpose to interfere with the free flow of goods in and out of London and the many ports of the Empire. During the same century free trade was the professed ideal of the Democratic party in the United States.

Free trade in modern times has not been fully realized in any country. In principle it would promote the specialization by different peoples in the production of goods that they can produce most advantageously. Thus to Cuba and other tropical islands would be left the production of sugar from the cheapest source — cane. A temperate-zone country like Germany, which might well have met its sugar needs at home by production from beets, but at high cost, could devote its agricultural energies to the economical raising of rye or other grains, or potatoes. Sugar would then be imported, to be paid for with funds obtained by the exportation of machinery, textiles, or dyes.

Where trade was unhampered, or not greatly hampered, by tariffs and red tape, each nation produced what it could pro-

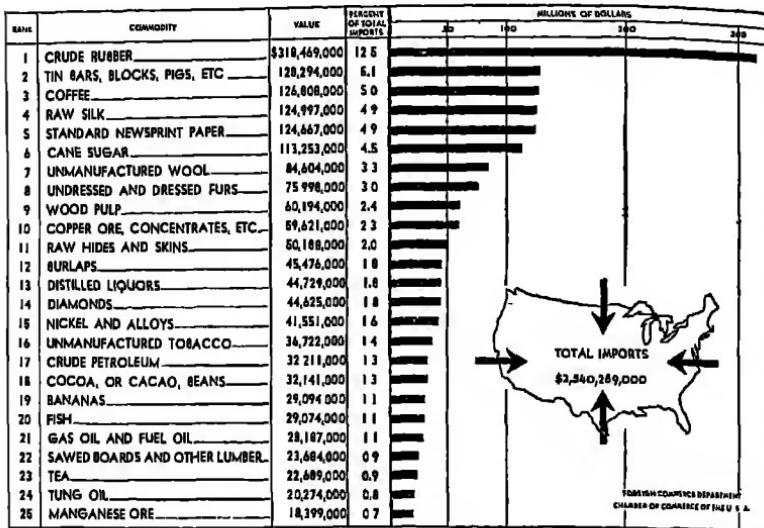


"How can it make progress?" An Italian cartoon of the 1920's, showing world trade loaded down with tariff chains

duce most efficiently, exporting any surplus. Canada and Argentina raised excellent wheat and exported large quantities to Europe. In turn they imported manufactured goods. Large and faster ships and modern refrigeration made possible the shipment of perishable goods, as Australian mutton, half-way around the world. The more the different countries depended on exchanging goods with one another, the more the different parts of the world became interdependent and the more abundant consumable goods became everywhere. Before 1914 prospects seemed bright for a larger international commerce, for ever-greater comity among the nations.

Countries like Brazil, with its one major crop, coffee, raised principally for export, or like Cuba, with sugar and tobacco as its export crops, its money crops, are necessarily at a disadvantage in some years. Warfare abroad, with blockades interfering with trade and in some places cutting it off entirely, shuts off customers; or local and world production of coffee or sugar or tobacco runs beyond all needs, then Brazil or Cuba has an economic setback. The same thing is true about regions of

MODERN NATIONS: GOVERNMENTS — PEOPLES



Our chief imports in 1940. The character of our foreign trade was affected by the World War which had begun the year before. This graph and the one on the page facing are here reproduced by courtesy of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, New York, N. Y.

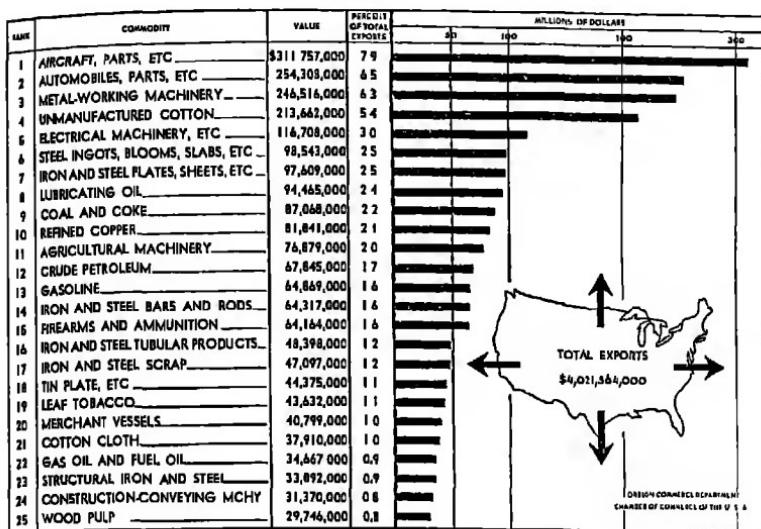
our own country, as those that produce cotton or grain or tobacco.

France in other times had a fairly well-balanced economy, something approaching self-containment. She had numerous and important industries, and she also had a large agricultural population that made its living from the land and produced a surplus to meet most of the needs of the rest of the country. Nevertheless, a single export, that of wine, was extremely important to France. After all, entire self-sufficiency is impossible.

LATIN-AMERICAN FOREIGN TRADE

In periods when there is relative freedom of trade, Latin America exchanges large quantities of goods with western Europe, the United States, and Japan. The products that each party has the other needs and wants. South America needs

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND WORLD TRADE



Our chief exports in 1940 — principally metals, other minerals, and manufactures

manufactured products and wants to sell raw materials. Brazil and the United States have had a large trade and friendly relations because we want coffee and cacao, which Brazil wishes to sell, while Brazil needs our manufactured goods. Commercial and other relations of our country have been more difficult with Argentina than with Brazil, because Argentina's chief products are meat and grain, of which we already have more than enough to meet our needs.

After the outbreak of war in 1939, the European trade with Latin America was reduced to the vanishing point, and the southerly continent of necessity turned to the United States for larger quantities of many kinds of goods. Naturally, the Latin Americans desired to enlarge their exports to this country, that they might pay for greater purchases here. Our desire to increase inter-American trade was bound up with the larger consideration of the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere, in face of the danger of Nazi or other Old World penetration on this side of the Atlantic (page 259). A trade agreement for

which the hope was greater than the fulfillment was entered into between the United States and Argentina in October, 1941.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS

The Industrial Revolution, the pressure of increasing population in western Europe, and the search for wider markets during the last century destroyed most of the economic and commercial isolation that previously existed among nations. In 1839 through direct action of Great Britain the Chinese were forced to open their doors wider than before to Western commerce. In 1854 Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry induced the Japanese authorities of the time to permit wider Japanese participation in world trade (page 262).

The very complex and sensitive industrial system that has developed since the 1760's depends for its proper functioning upon the availability of raw materials, foreign markets sufficient to maintain a high level of production, and open trade lanes to get goods and to sell goods. Wars distort the economic pattern of the world. After 1918, the older industrial centers in the United Kingdom and Germany found that during the course of the war there had been great industrial expansion in the United States, in Japan, and in the British dominions. The British blockade, beginning in 1914, cut off the supply of German dyes to the United States; after a period of experiment and adjustment the people of the United States produced their own dyes and the Germans lost this market permanently. The British textile industry suffered extreme depression as a result of unavoidable neglect of markets and the consequent loss of them during the war of 1914 to 1918; and some of these markets were never fully regained. Following the outbreak of war in 1939, Canada proceeded to transform herself into a more highly industrialized nation; and the United States again expanded its industries. The further weakening of Great Britain and France and the destruction of much of German and Japanese industry brought tremendous problems of readjustment.

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND WORLD TRADE

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Old Man Greed is the enemy of free and fair trade. His notion is to sell all and buy nothing, if possible. Just what good hoarded surplus gold or other money will do him has never been made clear. Anyway, those who wish to sell and not to buy arrange high protective tariffs. Other people in other lands get the same notions. Presently there are tariff wars, or commercial wars. And every change in tariff schedules works hardship on producers and exporters in one country or another. The lowering of tariff protection on shoes from Czechoslovakia, not many years ago, was not welcomed by shoe manufacturers in this country; the raising of our tariffs on hides has in the past hurt South American and Asiatic producers.

The dividing line between a commercial war and a war with guns is easy to cross.

TWO NATIONAL POLICIES

	FREE TRADE	ECONOMIC NATIONALISM
Basic idea	The free exchange of goods	The attainment of national self-sufficiency
Production	Specialization in goods produced on the most efficient basis	Encouragement of the home production of goods of all kinds
Goods available to individuals	Great variety, with resultant higher standard of living	Importation restricted by tariffs, quotas, and embargoes, with resultant higher cost of living
The nations	Interdependent	Isolated
World effects	Expansion of commerce; cooperation and confidence	Restriction of commerce; antagonism and fear of war

With the fear of war ever before them, nations certainly need to make themselves economically self-sufficient, and they adopt the policy of economic nationalism. If sugar cannot be pro-

duced economically within the national borders, the government pays the beet or cane growers a subsidy; the importation of cheap sugar from the sugar islands is largely shut off by high tariffs. Philippine independence was championed in Congress, a few years back, by members whose constituents wished to reduce the competition of Philippine sugar with domestic sugar (page 163). And so it goes. Then, to sell abroad, a country will lower the value of its currency relatively to foreign currency units. Goods are "dumped" on foreign markets; that is, they are sold abroad at very low prices, sometimes at lower prices than they would bring at home. The purpose is to keep established industries going, to secure foreign credits, and to reduce or eliminate competition from any source.

Basically, international trade is an exchange of goods. One nation cannot forever sell to the rest of the world and never buy. Payments to other countries can be made in money, goods, or services. The amount of monetary gold in existence is strictly limited, which means that goods and services must be exchanged. Economic nationalism strangles international trade because it is not based on the idea of eventual exchange of goods and services.

Nations mad with the idea of nationalism grab for petroleum-bearing lands, for iron, for every material that enters into warfare, so that they will have their own full supplies if and when war comes. The circle is vicious, and the only break in that circle comes with the warfare that everybody dreads. Modern war is, in a sense, economic nationalism at full flower. Instead of wealth, then, the grasping peoples have as their reward poverty and hatred and death.

The situation is plain enough to reasonable men and women, of whom there are many, and yet the world seems helpless before it. The trouble lies largely in the fact that "reasonable" citizens in many lands tolerate men in office who have a passion for exercising authority rather than a zeal for rendering social and political service.

MONEY AND COMMERCE

The economic resources of most nations are largely in the hands of private owners. The value and permanence of private property, of industry, and of commerce rest on the present and future stability of the government. Money, the system of counters that people use in trade, is a creation of government. One nation uses dollars; others use pesos, francs, lire, or pounds. The currency of a nation is the lifeblood of its business and the unit for expressing all property values. The value of whatever property the average citizen owns, or expects to own, is expressed in terms of the currency of his nation.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

The procedure of exchanging one nation's money for that of another is tremendously important in international trade. Before the World War of 1914 to 1918, the currency systems of the European nations, Japan, and the United States had a gold basis; the nations were said to be on the gold standard. The fact that each currency unit — crown, lira, dollar, bolívar, or what not — had a definite and readily determinable value in gold served as a firm foundation for exchange rates. The French franc was worth between nineteen and twenty cents in United States money, and there was very little variation in the exchange rate. London served as the center for foreign exchange. Bills of exchange payable in English pounds, German marks, or United States dollars could be bought in any country. At the end of the year most of these purchases of other monies canceled each other, and only the balances of gold would be shipped from one nation to another. A South American bought a bill of exchange that read in dollars, to pay his account for merchandise from New York. A man in New York bought French francs to pay for Paris dresses, and a Frenchman bought Argentine money to pay for a shipment of wheat. This system worked as long as the value of the currencies themselves re-

mained stable, the ordinary currency of each country being exchangeable, under specified conditions, for gold.

A WAR OF THE CURRENCIES

In comparatively recent years, and especially in the period of world depression, there was bitter competition for foreign trade. Naturally, the lower a seller's prices the better his chances for making sales. So nations lowered the prices on their citizens' export goods by lowering the value of the national currency unit. To be sure, several currencies — and particularly the currency of Germany — fell in value as a result of inflation (page 214). But a number of nations devalued their currencies purposely to win supposed trade advantages; for example, Erewhon might set the value of its currency unit, the duro, at a specified figure lower than its old value in terms of gold — the duro was thus much cheapened in foreign exchange but was not so greatly cheapened within Erewhon. A merchant in the United States could buy more Erewhon goods for his dollars, and he stocked up.

In 1928 France devalued the franc to one fifth its previous worth in gold. The franc was pegged, temporarily, at about four cents instead of about nineteen cents in United States money of the old gold standard. Along with the currency, French bonds of all issues fell to one fifth their former value in terms of any foreign currency. The cost of living went higher in France, although not commensurately with the cut in the foreign value of the franc: one Frenchman's franc remained as good as another's in home trading.

In 1931 Great Britain suspended gold payments and left the gold standard. Normally the British pound had been worth about \$4.86; its exchange value fell to between \$3.00 and \$4.00. When Great Britain went off the gold standard, the other parts of the British Empire necessarily followed her example. The Scandinavian nations also, among many others, readjusted their currencies and reduced the exchange rates.

In January, 1934, the United States set the value of the dollar at 59.06 per cent of its old value in terms of gold; and the President remained authorized by Congress to reduce the value even to 50 per cent of the old value. This devaluation operated as a repudiation of the gold clause in United States government bonds, which promised repayment in gold dollars "of the present weight and fineness."

The repudiation feature of devaluation operates chiefly at home; the cutting down of the exchange value operates most obviously abroad. The devaluation of our dollar had an effect equivalent to the raising of our tariffs by nearly one half. However, when the nations generally engage in a competition at devaluation, all are left about where they started — only the price of gold in terms of commodities has everywhere been raised.

MANAGED CURRENCIES

Among modern devices of finance are managed currencies and equalization funds. A nation, which we may call Erehwon, undertakes, temporarily at least, to keep its currency at a stable rate in terms of another currency on the foreign exchange. The general idea is that if the price of Erehwon currency goes higher than its treasury department wishes, the Erehwon government sells on foreign exchange enough Erehwon dollars or francs to bring the price down. If the price goes too low the Erehwon government, using an equalization fund placed at its command for that purpose, buys in enough of its own currency to raise the exchange rate. This kind of manipulation certainly does not afford a firm foundation for foreign exchange.

When France was suffering a financial crisis in 1936, Great Britain and the United States agreed to support her in pegging the franc at a new theoretical value, to keep the rate of exchange stable. This action may not have been disinterested; but it looked like a very encouraging sign of coöperation. In

the latter part of 1941 the United States entered into an arrangement with Mexico for pegging the Mexican peso.

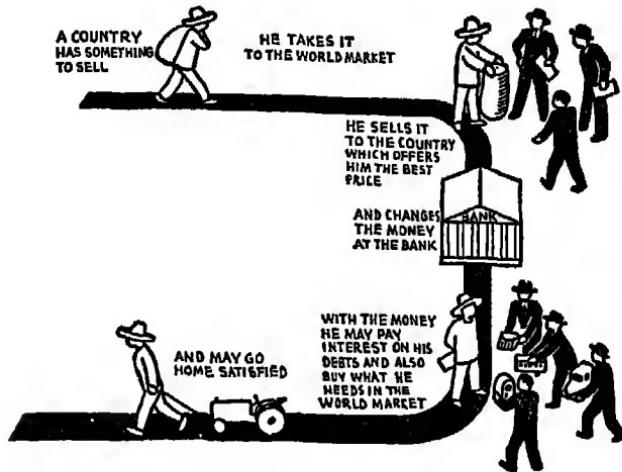
One of the great problems of the times is to stabilize currencies so that the rates of exchange will be fair to the different nations — will reflect actual values — and will not fluctuate more than the mechanism of exchange requires.

BARTER

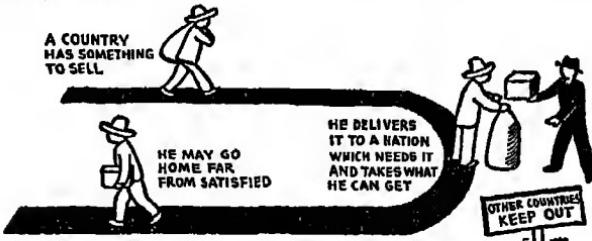
The German program of armaments strained German resources to the limit well before 1939. The financial experts, and chiefly Dr. Hjalmar Schacht as minister of economics, manipulated the German money system most bewilderingly to foreigners, in order to maintain the military establishment and at the same time to keep Germany technically from bankruptcy. For domestic trade the German reichsmark was pegged at one value; for foreign trade it was pegged at another value. As a matter of fact, there were a number of kinds of marks, all in use at the same time. One kind of mark was not convertible into another kind. German citizens were forbidden to take money or anything of much value out of the country, and even tourists were not allowed to take currency in any appreciable amount back to their homelands. Nazi Germany violated all the standard economic laws, and through the years there were many predictions that the German financial structure would collapse; but it somehow lasted as long as looting was good. With each new aggression and conquest the gold and silver and other financial assets of the conquered people, and to a large extent their actual commercial goods, were seized for the benefit of Germany.

Since Germany in the 1930's had utterly inadequate gold reserves and rather limited exports, she was unable to secure the foreign exchange she needed in order to pay for necessary imports. To meet this situation, German financiers devised a modern barter system. For example, Germany wanted coffee from Brazil, and she would exchange German goods with the

FREE EXCHANGE



BARTER TRADE



Commerce consists essentially in sale and purchase; barter, in the direct exchange of one article for another. This graph is from *Look at Latin America*, a Headline Book of the Foreign Policy Association.

Brazilians directly and specifically for coffee. By her barter methods Germany saturated the Balkan countries with cameras and aspirin. A general application of Schacht's barter system would have reduced world commerce in essence to the direct trading of goods for goods, as when an American colonist exchanged glass beads or rum with an Indian for a beaver pelt — nobody being really greatly benefited, least of all the Indian, and not overlooking the beaver.

INFLATION

The purchasing value of money — even of good money — is constantly fluctuating to some degree. Prices go up or down as a result of many factors in the economic system. It is only when the changes are sharp and drastic that there are very serious consequences for the people of a country. In a period of depression the prices of goods and wages go down, and there is serious strain on the whole system of business. Such a period is one of deflation; the prices of goods and services shrink, and the value of money goes up. In a period of inflation the opposite movements occur: the prices of goods and services expand — become inflated — and the purchasing value of a given amount of money sharply decreases. Money, we say, becomes cheap. We use more of the government's official counters — whatever they may stand for — in our transactions.

The danger of inflation becomes acute in war and post-war periods. Ordinarily consumer goods become scarce because of the greatly increased demands of war industries; the cessation of warfare leaves the usual machinery of production badly dislocated, if not largely destroyed. The worst kind of inflation occurs when government printing presses turn out huge quantities of paper money under pressure of war. So it happened in Germany during the period that began in 1914. By 1923 the climax of inflation was reached. At one time a stamp to carry an ordinary letter was priced by the government at five million marks — five hundred million pfennigs. Thus by progressive inflation Germany repudiated her old currency and her other obligations — certainly those she owed to her own citizens. When the mark became completely valueless Germany adopted a new money, with the reichsmark (distinguished from the mark) as the unit. The reichsmark was assigned a value equal to that of the old imperial mark before the great inflation (about twenty-four cents). Thus inflation wiped out debts of the German government and at the same time

destroyed the value of the savings and investments of the German people.

Milder types of inflation are found when there is a tremendous expansion of available credit and there is not a corresponding expansion of available goods. This encourages speculation and causes a rise in prices. As goods become scarcer and scarcer, prices rise again and again, and still people will be in the market for more goods. Such inflation is characteristic also of war and post-war periods. When war and reconstruction are over and extraordinary demands cease, one can fear heroic readjustments accompanied with depression.

Both inflation and depression make life more difficult for great numbers of people. Governments in various nations have taken different measures to try to prevent both extremes. In some countries, as in Russia at one period, speculators have been subjected to the death penalty, in crude attempts to stop price boosting. But even the fear of death has never been able to abolish undercover markets — "black markets" — or to make a paper ruble or mark or reichsmark acceptable if it was in fact worthless. (See pages 213-215.)

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Arguments were advanced before 1939 by the so-called "have-not nations," supporting their demands for additional land. What were some of those arguments? What validity have they?
2. In the matters of resources and standard of living, what has been the record of Switzerland and the Scandinavian nations?
3. Name a number of plastics, synthetic products, and substitute materials that are now in common use. Over a long period, what effects may these new materials have on world trade?
4. Describe what is meant by political imperialism; economic imperialism.
5. In the United States Census report of 1890 the statement was made that our western frontier was gone; there were unsettled areas, of course; but the extension of western settlements farther and farther each year was a thing of the past. This changed

domestic condition would have – and did have – what effect, or effects, on the position and interests of the United States in world affairs?

6. Tell why an industrial area experiences greater vicissitudes in economic booms and depressions than an agricultural area.
7. Describe the methods and purposes of economic nationalism. What special reasons can you give for the great increase in economic nationalism in the years between 1919 and 1939?
8. Peoples that have experienced extreme paper-money inflation dread the repetition of that experience. Why?
9. It has been said that the gold standard was a casualty of the First World War. What does that mean?
10. What changes have been taking place in world trade since the Second World War was concluded?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Choose two or more nations not too much alike – as Eire and Argentina – and prepare reports on the major economic problem, or problems, of each. Different members of the class may report on different nations; and comparisons may be made in class.
2. Look up in the current *World Almanac* the exports and imports of the United States for the last two years covered therein. It will be desirable to have the total figures and also the figures for the major exports and imports. What increases and decreases do you note, whether in exports or imports? Are these accounted for by fluctuations in the prices of goods or in the prices of currency? If not, how may they be accounted for?
3. Since 1919 nation after nation has reduced the gold value of its currency or left the gold standard altogether. What are some of the usual effects of the cheapening of money for: (a) the merchant who sells goods abroad; (b) the merchant who must buy goods abroad; (c) the people in general?
4. From the financial page of a recent daily paper note the values, or prices, of the currencies of other nations in terms of United States dollars. Note in an old newspaper or elsewhere the values of those currencies some weeks or months ago. Have there been marked changes recently in the values of different currencies? Do conditions within the nations or among nations indicate the reason or reasons for any such changes?

CHAPTER 7

PEOPLES AND CULTURES

SOME of us are inclined to judge other peoples and nations in terms of our own selves and in terms of our nation. Others of us are inclined to consider all alien peoples as strangers to our modes of thought and life. Each of these attitudes will lay a groundwork for error in dealing with foreigners. The enlightened way is to act on the assumption, in the first instance, that the other fellow, the other nation, is not basically different from you, from your country—the while being alert to avoid misunderstanding that may arise from different modes of expression or even of thought. Other peoples in other places, like peoples in other times, have or have had their special points of view, their particular attitudes toward life.

THE NATURE AND GROWTH OF CULTURE

In an individual his cultivation and character determine his worth to society; in a nation its culture constitutes its prime contribution to the family, or society, of nations. The total way of life of a people is its culture. All phases of life, including the arts, religion, language, sciences, and industries, are covered by the term.

THE FRAMEWORK OF CULTURE

A person born into a culture not only speaks the language but also thinks in that language; and he conforms to the customs

of the people. Each generation in turn accepts the customs of its group and time as the natural and proper frame of living. A culture provides the environment that molds life. Whether a man wears a hat or a turban; sits on chairs or kneels on mats on the floor; eats mostly fish and rice or may choose for his table from among foods of all mankind, is determined in most instances by his cultural surroundings. His inheritance, individual and racial, will have more or less to do with his responses, of course, regardless of environment. There is never-ending argument — perhaps not highly profitable — about the relative importance of inheritance and environment, or culture.

Culture is an accumulation from generation to generation. Because each generation does not have to start from the beginning but is heir to the past, man has been able to build up varied and complicated civilizations. Culture includes both material things and those that may be classed as spiritual. Often the greater attention is paid to material factors because they can be seen; but ideas, ideals, purposes, religion, ethics, and language are of far more importance in shaping conduct.

THE RACE FACTOR

There is a measure of correlation between culture and race. Nevertheless, people of diverse races will sometimes make up a single cultural group, as in our own country, where men of every race now qualify culturally as well as politically as Americans. Likewise, people of the same large racial group may be much divided culturally, as was the case among the numerous tribes of American Indians.

Just what constitutes a race is a matter that, fortunately, we do not need to go into with particularity in our present study. For us the dictionary definition of the term "race" will serve: "A division of mankind possessing constant traits, transmissible by descent, sufficient to characterize it as a distinct human type; a permanent variety of the genus *Homo*." A very great amount of work on the classification of types of men within races has

been done during this century; but the ethnologists have an unlimited field of labor before them, and they will probably be disagreeing among themselves about questions of race and type till the end of time.

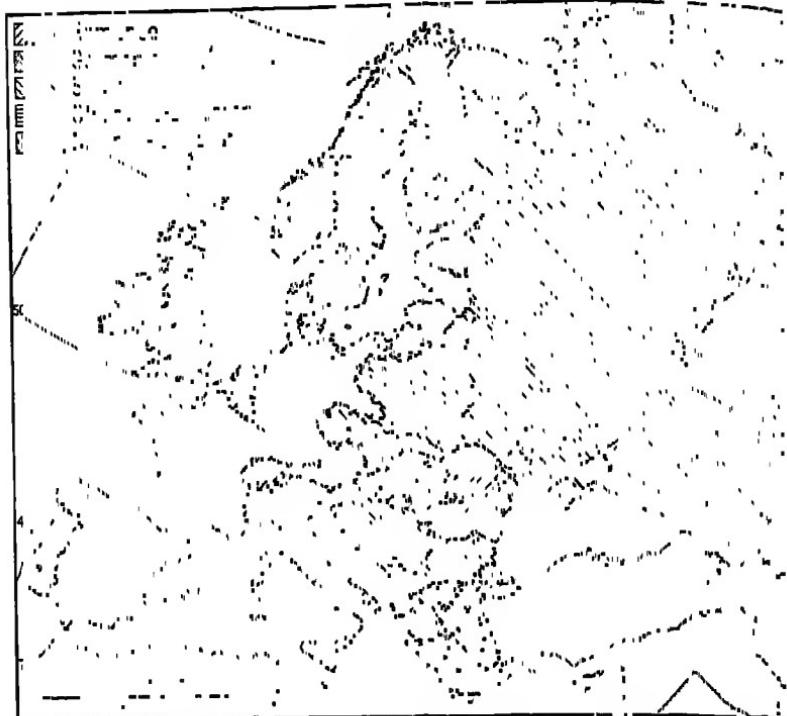
It is well to keep in mind race and type as factors in the affairs of mankind; but for our consideration of culture, language differences and similarities will be far more useful than head measurements and color.

LANGUAGE AS A PRACTICAL INDEX OF CULTURE

Language is bound up with the whole cultural background and also with religion. Most of the values that a people cling to are passed on from one generation to the next in religious ceremonies and teachings, stories, songs, and celebrations, with words in one language or another as the medium. A common language — spoken, written, printed — more than any other single factor holds a people together in conscious cultural unity. The language grouping of the various peoples is more permanent than political boundaries.

As might be expected, the cultures of the people who speak related languages have much in common. The Romance languages — Spanish, Italian, French, Portuguese, Provençal, Rumanian — have a common background in Latin. There are similarities in grammar and words; and there are cultural similarities among the Romance peoples — the differences in the several cultures being greater or less, in keeping with the differences in the several languages. Similar observations can be made about the Slavic groups: Russian, Polish, Czechish, and others. Also about the Teutonic or Germanic languages and cultures: High German, with its many dialects; Low German, also with various dialects; Scandinavian, embracing Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish; and, with much warrant for its inclusion, English.

English has been directly influenced by both the Teutonic and the Romance groups of languages, and by still others.

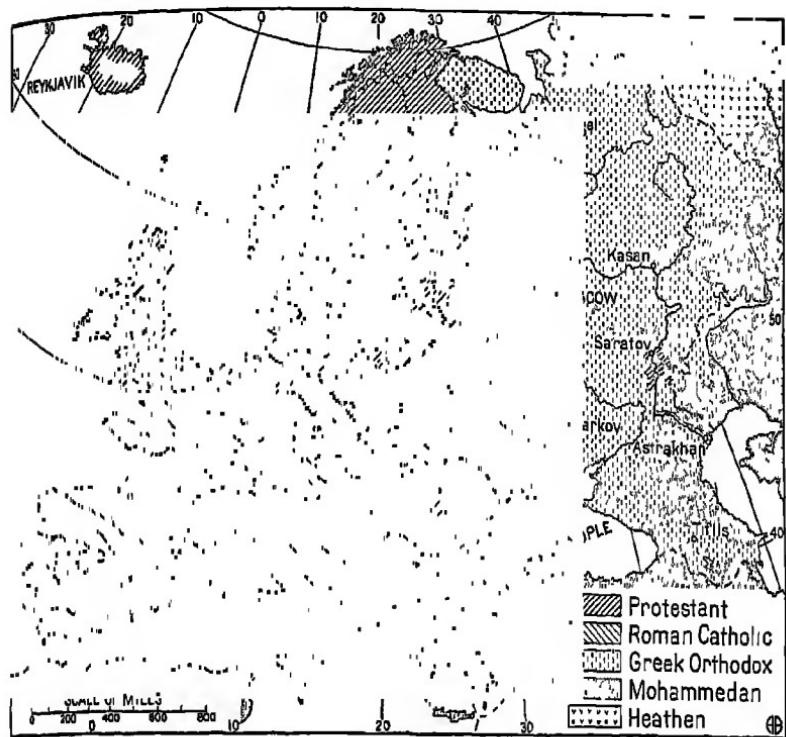


The language areas of Europe (national boundaries as of 1937). These are not entirely the same as racial areas. Slavs and Latins have been Germanized in different areas; some few Germans have been Latinized, some Magyarized. Finns, Lapps, Hungarians, Tatars, and Turks, who speak non-Indo-European (non-Aryan) languages, have infusions of Aryan and still other blood. English and the Scandinavian languages are Germanic; but the people who speak those languages are anything but German. Germany has been well described as an "ethnic chaos." The language that a people speaks is an audible fact; race is not an obvious matter.

The old so-called Anglo-Saxon language was Teutonic, brought from the continent by Germanic invaders of Britain. William the Conqueror and his followers, in 1066, brought with them Norman-French speech and customs. It was several centuries before the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxons fused into one people with one language and one culture — English.

A person who speaks a Romance language, a Teutonic lan-

PEOPLES AND CULTURES



The areas in which different religions prevail in Europe (national boundaries as of 1937). There is a high degree of correlation between the religious groupings on this map and the language groupings shown on page 136. Where language and religion have been largely the same, the bonds between peoples have generally been the stronger. Thus the Russians in Czarist times had more friendliness for the Balkan peoples, who were prevailingly Slavic and of the Greek Orthodox Church, than for the Poles and the Czechs, both Slavic but both for the greater part Roman Catholic in faith. The few heathen, or pagans, in northernmost Europe are wandering Lapps.

guage, or a Slavic language can learn a language within the other two groups by making a reasonable amount of effort; but if he undertakes to learn Hungarian he finds himself struggling with a totally different language structure. Linguistically, Hungarian is not really a European language, having more in common with the Mongolian tongues. Thus the Hungarians, or Magyars, are sharply set off from the peoples with whom they

neighbor; and we need not be greatly surprised at finding them a people of a very marked culture, intensely nationalistic.

In the Orient, some of the languages of India have affinity with the prevailing languages of Europe, the great group of languages being known as Indo-European. But Chinese with its numerous dialects, Japanese, and Malayan with its many divisions are totally different from any of the Indo-European tongues, and they differ greatly from one another. There are cultural similarities between the Chinese people and the Japanese, owing to proximity and the earlier civilization of China; but there are also cultural differences as great as the differences in language. The Malayan peoples, long ago widely dispersed, have taken much from other cultures; and notably this is true of the Filipinos, who are the only Christianized people in the Far East.

THE FLEXIBILITY OF CULTURAL BOUNDARIES

It is in the nature of culture that it overleaps national boundaries. Fine music, painting, sculpture, and architecture are known and appreciated regardless of the particular culture that may have produced them: the appreciation of these is not hampered by differences in language. Scholars, scientists, artists, and inventors may be regarded as real internationalists, whether or not they as individuals realize the fact; necessarily they keep informed about the work in their fields that is being done in other lands; among them "all who know are equal." Publications in specialized fields are sent to many countries, and many nations benefit from an increased knowledge anywhere. Dictators may try to stem invasions of ideas; but dictators pass and ideas go on forever.

For many years two conflicting influences have been at work in regard to cultural relations. The one influence, a policy of fanatical nationalists (as the Nazis and Fascists were), has been to make political boundaries and cultural boundaries conform; to this end there have been exchanges of populations and some-

times expulsions and even campaigns of extermination. The policy has been sustained by censorship and propaganda and by the strong guarding of frontiers.

The opposite influence has been at work over a longer period. This influence, perhaps also to be classed as a policy, is to encourage cultural relations as a means of taking the sharp edge off intense nationalistic feelings and making the world to be a friendlier place.

Constructive, coöperative efforts for promoting international understanding are constantly being made by persons of good sense and good will. Such efforts are not necessarily spectacular — may be almost unconscious — and they may affect directly but a small percentage of the people in one nation and another. Many societies are both national and international in character, helpful because they cut across barriers among men. In point are churches of one denomination and another, and international fraternal, business, and learned societies and associations.

CULTURAL COÖPERATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE NEW WORLD

Nations that are on good terms with one another tend to coöperate in the various fields — political, commercial, and cultural. In recent years the conscious program of our government has been to enlarge our cultural relations with the Central and South American countries and thus help to improve all our other relations with those nations. To further this end a new Federal instrumentality has been set up by our government, the Office for Coördination of Commercial and Cultural Relations among the American Republics.

Exchange scholars, teachers, and lecturers are an effective means of bettering international understanding. Mr. Hoover visited South America after his election in 1928 and before his inauguration as President; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Mr. Hull, his Secretary of State, made official visits to the

capitals of Pan-American nations. Authors, students of political science, and aviators have served as "ambassadors of good will" to our sister countries of the New World; and those countries have reciprocated. Special university courses are provided in various New World cities for inter-American, or Pan-American, attendance. For years the University of Mexico in Mexico City has operated a summer school that attracts a large number of students from north of the Rio Grande. This is an important medium for showing what Mexican culture consists of and incidentally for increasing good will. The University of North Carolina and the University of San Marcos



at Lima, Peru, have had special summer schools, to which students from other American nations have been invited.

Newspapers, magazines, and radio programs are important mediums of cultural exchange. Efforts are being made to publish more and better translations of Spanish and Portuguese and English works to help overcome barriers of language in the New World. The *Reader's Digest* has a Spanish edition that has become popular. In the spring of 1941 the publishers of *Time* started an Air Express Edition of their magazine, printed on special lightweight paper. This edition, transported by Pan-American Airways, enables most of South America to receive the weekly issues (English) on the date of their release in the United States.

We have so many more good papers and magazines at low prices than have other countries that we influence others much more than they influence us. There are sometimes complaints in other countries that we do not know enough that is both true and favorable about them. Often there is justice in the criticism when it occurs. Our own publications cover the foreign field pretty well; but in the past, as a people, we have not concerned ourselves greatly about developments overseas.

The rest of the world has acquired many of its ideas concerning the United States from American movies and to a less degree from radio programs. Many of the false notions other peoples have formed about us are owing to the kinds of materials we have sent them. Efforts are being made to correct this fault, but it usually takes a long time to change peoples' ideas.

ACCULTURATION

The world is full of paradoxes and contradictions, or seeming paradoxes and seeming contradictions. In folklore there will be one proverb that conveys a wise suggestion and another proverb that conveys another wise suggestion to a completely opposite effect. We have just noted how a culture may be so

ingrained that nothing short of the extermination of a people seems able to destroy it. Nevertheless, cultures are constantly being modified and even supplanted by other cultures. For the extension of a culture and its acceptance by a people to whom it is new there is a special word, "acculturation."

**EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE TO OTHER
PARTS OF THE WORLD**

The Greeks, especially under Alexander the Great and his successors, spread Greek culture to many non-Greek peoples. The Romans entered Greece as conquerors and were themselves largely acculturated by the superior civilization of the Greeks. And the Romans carried their work of acculturation to Britain, pretty well into Germany, and to Spain, through northern Africa, to the Near East, and even to old Greece or Hellas. Similarly, since the days of Prince Henry the Navigator in the 1400's, European culture has been undergoing extension throughout the world. Sometimes conquest has hewed a path for acculturation, as when Pizarro conquered Peru and Cortez conquered Mexico. Again, a people like the Japanese, with a great culture of their own, have recognized superiorities in the European way of action and have deliberately adopted therefrom and cultivated particular features that they thought might be helpful to them. Always there has been and will be unconscious assimilation, especially by weaker peoples from stronger peoples or those of superior culture. After all, "there is nothing permanent but change."

By the end of the nineteenth century Europe dominated most of the world, whether culturally or politically or commercially.

The forms of European domination may be classified under three heads:

- (1) Direct colonization — peopling — and the establishment thereby, literally, of a branch of European culture.

- (2) A veneer of European culture maintained by a small controlling group that continued to follow so far as possible a European pattern of life.
- (3) Commercial supremacy, with the resultant acceptance of European methods of doing business, European goods, and sometimes European ideas.

We have been speaking of European domination; but in this connection the term "European" may be taken to include "American"; and the principles apply to Japan also as a dominating power.

Direct colonization — peopling — was possible where there were relatively few native peoples, militarily weak. The English, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the French set up colonies in the Western Hemisphere which constituted extensions, with more or less modification, of the homeland cultures. Most of these lands, as the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and French Canada, somehow became separated from the mother country politically but continued, nevertheless, in the ways of European culture.

The viceroy type of acculturation is found in areas where there are large native populations with deeply rooted cultures, over which populations Europeans have gained rather complete political control. The ancient Greeks, establishing themselves in a city on the one good harbor of a "barbarian" land, would in time establish a government that included the hinterland; outwardly the whole region would be classed as Hellenistic because of its Hellenic, or Greek, viceroy. Similarly in modern times the British, working in from the seaports, established throughout India a veneer — sometimes very thin — of British culture.

China until the second decade of this century is an excellent example of a country that experienced our third type of domination — commercial, with some cultural effects. Except at a few places — such as Hong Kong and Weihaiwei taken by the British,

Tsingtao taken by the Germans, and the area of the International Settlement at Shanghai — the European nations had no direct political control of the country. The different nations — and not the least Japan — did try to get as much as possible from the Chinese in the way of trade concessions and special privileges. In connection with China, the incidental influence of European and American missionaries, tending to promote the modernization of the country, should be mentioned. Owing to the activities of missionaries, many regions came more or less under the influence of European culture; and in some places missionary endeavor was followed up by actual European political control.

Americans all along, and the British latterly, have held that if a nation can benefit from the commerce of a region without taking political control, it is better not to assume the heavy responsibility of government.

During the nineteenth century the prestige and power of Europe steadily mounted. On the other continents the European way of living was copied; European dress was widely adopted, at least in the larger cities; and students worked hard to learn English and sometimes French. European arts, literature, and science were looked upon with the greatest respect. But confidence in European culture and respect for it were badly shaken, following the outbreak of war in 1914. Rabindranath Tagore, a great scholar of India, wrote that Europe and European culture were on a decline; and Oswald Spengler, a German philosophical writer, produced a work entitled *The Decline of the West*, which attracted much attention.

Following 1918 there was a renewed feeling for nationalism and national cultures, particularly in non-Christian lands. And after the resumption of world warfare in 1939 this feeling was intensified, particularly in India. If the Japanese had capitalized on this feeling by dealing in an enlightened way with their neighbors and acquaintances, they might have done much toward establishing an enduring "Greater East Asia."

THE ASSERTION OF CULTURE

In older countries the languages, traditions, and other cultural characteristics of the people are quite stable, or they were until this century. Natural boundaries may undergo drastic changes and a nation may even lose political identity, yet all the while the people of the submerged nation will hold fast to their ancient culture, as has happened in several countries of east-central Europe. In the Balkans the various peoples endured centuries of Turkish oppression and survived it; they kept alive their various traditions and emerged proud of their distinctive cultures. The Jewish people, ethnologically not a racial group but with a culture the core of which is the worship of Jehovah, have endured dispersal among the nations and intermittent persecution for the better part of two thousand years; and still they keep their ancient faith and observances. The Mexican people have kept much of Indian culture after centuries of effort to Europeanize them.

THE PRIDE AND POWER OF OLD CULTURES

During the Middle Ages and till the eighteenth century Poland was a large country extending eastward and southward through the region of the Ukraine, eastward and northward through Lithuania, and westward into German territory. Called a kingdom, it had much the character of an empire. With an elective kingship and with any one of the elector-nobles capable of exercising a veto, internal troubles became chronic and finally fatal. When Poland's neighbors grew powerful they despoiled her of territory — partitioned the country repeatedly — till no patch of land was left to bear the name of Poland on a map. Instead there were Russian, Austrian, and German provinces in which every effort was made to stamp out the embers of Polish culture. In spite of oppression the Polish people continued to cherish and preserve their traditions. At last, in 1919, by the Treaty of Versailles, Poland

was reconstituted as an independent nation. Folk music and dances, costumes, stories, and the Polish language, had been passed on from generation to generation. With Ignace Paderewski, great musician and patriot, as premier, Poland for a time experienced a revival that held great promise for the world. National disaster came once more in 1939 to 1945. Then the people murmured, "Poland shall live again!" And somehow, now, Poland does live again.

How much permanent change will result from the recent forced migrations of people, with whole populations of regions uprooted from their homelands and scattered among alien populations, we cannot venture to estimate. Not in ages has there been a procedure so ruthless. Many individuals of these tormented peoples have perished; but we may be sure that those who survive will do everything possible to preserve and transmit their cultural heritages.

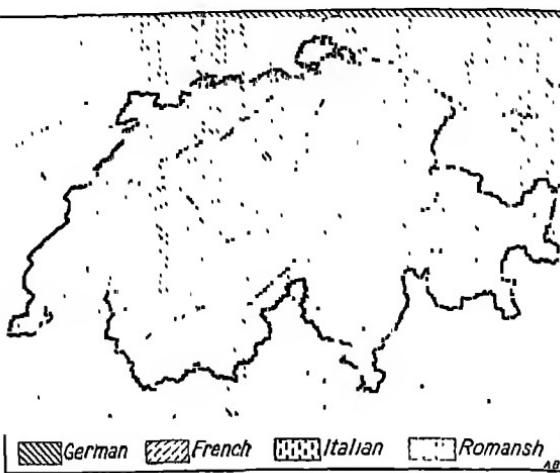
The determination of any people to keep its old way of life is based largely on the feeling that its own culture is superior to others. Through the ages peoples all over the world have been inclined to regard their own way of doing as the standard of conduct and culture. The ancient Greeks classified all men as either Greeks or barbarians. To this day, in the Bohemian or Czechish tongue the name for German (*Nemeč*, pronounced *ně'měš*) means "the one who is mute"; that is, "the one who does not speak our language." The magnificently obstinate British will to carry on is grounded in a firm belief in the value of the British way of life. In the past twenty years the Irish have made special efforts to revive their ancient Gaelic or Erse language and their old tribal or national arts. The cultivated Mexican of Spanish ancestry will tell you that Spain was the most powerful nation of Europe, with a high culture, when the Spaniards took over Mexico. The Chinese are as proud as any people; and they never forget that Chinese civilization extends back five thousand years to a time when most of Europe, if not all of it, was still at the Stone Age level. People in the

United States pride themselves on their countrymen's inventions and achievements.

MINORITY GROUPS

History is full of accounts of the struggles of minority groups for autonomy, if not for independence. Some of the lines of cleavage have been racial and others have been cultural or political. Difficulties have always been most likely to occur where several different groups occupy the same general land area, as in the Balkan region. The ancient minority problems of central and southeastern Europe have seemed impossible of solution. The map made by the Big Four (page 78) at Paris and specified in the Treaty of Versailles pleased some minority groups and created new minority problems elsewhere. The peoples are so mixed in such areas as Macedonia, Transylvania, Dobrudja, and Bessarabia that boundary lines simply cannot be drawn to avoid inclusions of isolated groups out of harmony with the majority group. Comparison of a map indicating the political boundaries of central and eastern Europe with a map indicating the grouping of the people by language will show the basic problem. Here lies a major argument in favor of some more enlightened system of political union for Europe. However, the hatreds aroused and intensified by the warfare of centuries stand in the way.

In connection with minority groups one usually thinks of discrimination and suppression, and resultant discontent. But there are places where peoples, including weak minorities, live comfortably within the same national unit. In Switzerland four languages — French, German, Italian, and Romansh — are spoken by some or other of the inhabitants. The German Swiss, in the majority, have not sought to Germanize their neighbors. Members of all the language or cultural groups alike consider themselves as Swiss. And how can such things be? The best brief answer might be that the Swiss of whatever language are civilized people who in their dealings with one another pay



The principal language areas of Switzerland. Somewhat fewer than 60 per cent of the Swiss are Protestants, somewhat more than 40 per cent are Roman Catholics. Regardless of differences in language, race, religion, and politics, the Swiss manage their affairs quietly and efficiently. For centuries they have set the world an example in democracy, tolerance, and all-round sanity. Note the location of Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, and Locarno — each the scene of some international meeting or enterprise of importance.

more than lip service to the Golden Rule. Belgium has had two important language or cultural groups, the Walloons and the Flemings; and while there was rivalry between the two groups, yet the nation managed to get along fairly well until the Germans overran it in 1914 and again in 1940. In Canada the French inhabitants are a numerous and self-conscious minority, fully recognized in the government and having a highly satisfactory working basis with their non-French fellow countrymen. The existence of minority groups does not necessarily indicate discord and distress.

The idea of self-determination for all peoples had great popularity in the period of the First World War. When President Wilson included the right of self-determination among his Fourteen Points (pages 75-77), he gave new hope and

courage to many minority peoples and divided peoples, who had not been happy in their condition. A number of such peoples, as the Czechs, Poles, and Rumanians, did gain self-determination or unity under the terms of the treaties of 1919. Other peoples, as the Germans and Hungarians, found their unity broken more than it had been before, by those same treaties.

CONFLICTING CULTURES

During the last century it was the cities in the other continents that felt the influence of Europe most directly, the larger the city the greater the commerce with the Western world, and the greater the influence of that world. In areas politically controlled by European nations the impact of European culture was and still is more intense than it can be in a mere "sphere of influence." A Chinese in Hong Kong or an African at Dakar in Senegal witnesses the clashing and the blending of widely differing ways of life. There is at Hong Kong the culture of the Chinese and there is the introduced European culture, radically different. The individual must choose whether to cling to his old ancestral culture, or adopt European ways, or try to strike a balance between the old and the new. A single culture, whether it is European or Asiatic, has developed a system of living, the elements of which are congruous: the foods and the utensils for preparing them belong together; the race consciousness finds completely appropriate outward expression in clothing, dwelling place, custom, and speech. The individual born into a culture worthy of the name learns a single pattern of life and does what is expected of him within that pattern.

Where two cultures are sharply brought together, there is very likely to be some disorganization in ways of living. Eventually there is compromise, not always with happy effect, as we can see in mixed European and Asiatic garb in India and elsewhere and as we can hear in pidgin English.

Sometimes the results of a blend of cultures are highly desirable. This will be sufficiently apparent if we recall that there is not an important culture existent that does not represent some ancient blending of the ways and the bloods of different peoples.

NATIONALISM AND CULTURE

Peoples with distinctive cultures are justly proud of their achievements in the arts, in literature, and in industry. The Mexican of Indian descent likes to have his fine craftsmanship in silver, leather, and textiles appreciated. In other days, certainly, a craftsman's honor was involved in his work. The French enamel worker of the 1700's made exquisite snuffboxes that to this day seem to be miniature incarnations of the old régime. The swordmakers of feudal Japan made blades sharp and strong and true. The glass workers of Venice made bottles that were gemlike. The cunning Chinese brought a magnificent conscientiousness to the manufacture of porcelains. Greek sculptors finished those parts of temple sculptures that could not be seen by visitors as completely as the parts that would be viewed. The culture of a people and its religion, or ethics, are not far apart.

If only the peoples and nations could and would direct their feelings of group consciousness primarily into channels of cultural contribution, we should soon have a very different and better world. In place of armament races and wars, there would be constructive thinking and action. Even with the United Nations starting out more promisingly than the League of Nations, the prospect for general good will "in our time" is far from encouraging. However, people everywhere once felt equally hopeless about the possibility of ending human slavery. In taking a long view of generations and centuries, one sees that the human race has made important advances. Sometimes hard-won gains are imperiled or even lost for a time, and we are now in such a bad time. But the pendulum assuredly will swing

the other way, and that perhaps soon. The road upward has never been a steady and easy climb.

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

We hear much, these days, about intercultural relations. Relations with peoples of other races and cultures are multiplied as travel and communication increase. It is now possible to reach any place in the world in sixty hours or less. Probably a thousand persons will get to see other countries — whether in peace or in war — where one got abroad in our great-grandparents' day. The combination of fast travel and far travel by great numbers of persons results in intercultural contacts on a gigantic scale. Since an appreciable number of any student body are likely to visit other countries, it will be well to consider what should be the preparation and the attitude of a traveler.

When a person flies to India or to China, he has no time on the way to adjust his mind to the people and the things that he will see. On a slow steamship he had three or four weeks during which he might talk with fellow passengers who knew the Orient from long residence there. He could do some reading and get into a mood to savor a foreign culture. One may still take a slow steamship; but even so it is not well to depend upon shipboard education — there may be too much shuffleboard. The wise thing to do, in any case, is to learn about other peoples and their ways of life whenever there is opportunity to do so. Build up a background. Take something with you, or you'll not be able to bring much back with you. "He who seeks the wealth of the Indies," say the Spaniards, "must take with him the wealth of the Indies."

Remember that a culture, a way of life, is the product of centuries of experience. The people whose way it is were born into it, just as you — in all probability — were born into the American way. Neither they nor you chose to be part of a particular culture — to be Spanish, or Hindu, or Filipino, or

American. Neither they nor you can have superior personal merit because of circumstances which no individual can control. Let a person do the best he can with the abilities he has and the helps that may be available, and his merit will be equal to that of any other human being. Avoid the "I am holier than thou," or "We are better than anybody else," complex.

You may not see just why the desert Arab, or the French-Canadian, or the Patagonian lives as he does. But his way of life may be as good for him as your way is for you. Make your first presumptions in his favor; to use a slang expression, give him a break. If he seems slow, do not try to hustle him, just for the sake of hustling. If he seems not to be in step, consider whether or not you are in step. Do not be like the fond mother who saw the local militia company marching by and observed that every man in the company was out of step except her son; and do not be like the three blind men of Hindustan, each of whom "saw" only a single part of the elephant. To one the animal resembled a rope; to another, a snake; to another, a tree.

With humor, tolerance, and good will you can travel far, and everywhere meet with humor, tolerance, and good will. And your contacts will be blessed with a large measure of mutual understanding.

Wherever there is an exchange of goods and wherever there is an exchange of reading matter there are intercultural relations. Even those exchanges involve personal contacts; and as world travel increases, intercultural relations become more and more a person-to-person affair. Remember that wherever you meet foreigners — whether abroad or at home and whatever you have or do — you are helping to build the repute in which your countrymen are held by others. The principle works both ways. A charming person from Chile may arouse our favorable interest in Chile — its art, its music, its literature. An informed interest in individuals as representatives of their peoples will serve as a key to much useful and interesting in-

formation — will in any case help to make you a person of cultivation.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between the terms "culture" and "cultivation."
2. Does culture follow race lines closely, or does it cut across them? Cite an example, or examples, to justify your answer.
3. How does the relation between language and culture compare with the relation between race and culture? Which relation is closer?
4. To which major language group does English belong? to which lesser group of half a dozen or more languages does it belong?
5. Is there a high degree of relationship between cultural boundaries and political boundaries? Give examples to justify your answer.
6. Following 1918, how did Greece and Turkey deal with people of each other's cultures who were left within the new national boundaries? What is your opinion of this solution to the problem of adjustment among differing groups within a country?
7. Name an Old World country in which different cultures co-exist, yet without conflict. Name such a New World country.
8. Which European language is spoken by the greatest number of persons throughout the world? Which European language comes next? Which comes third?
9. Danes and Norwegians get along somewhat better with each other than with Swedes. What may be a reason for this fact?
10. What are two or three of the principal ties that make for solidarity between the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations?
11. Of what obvious advantage is it to an intellectual person to be able to read English or Spanish or French or German, rather than a language that is spoken by only a few millions of people?
12. Define the term "acculturation." Tell about a case of acculturation.
13. If a native American of non-English-speaking stock — Spanish, Czechish, Hungarian, French — knows nothing of the language or culture of his ancestors, do you regard him as a better American for that circumstance? What arguments might you offer him in suggesting that he learn something of that language and culture?

14. The colonies of Spain in which the Spanish language prevailed over native languages have all ceased to be colonies. Why did ties of language and culture fail to hold Spanish-speaking colonies to their mother country?
15. Classify the following in accordance with the type of foreign domination, if any, that prevailed in each in 1939: Australia, New Zealand, Netherlands East Indies, Algeria, Formosa, Libya, Madagascar, Spanish Morocco, Puerto Rico, Philippine Islands. If the present war has made a change in the status of any of the countries or regions named, mention the fact.
16. Name a minority group in this country that is racial; one that is religious; one that is political. Wherein lies the principal guarantee for the protection of these and other minorities in our country?
17. Each of us is probably a member of some minority group and is at the same time a member of each of several majority groups. Are our attitudes influenced by that fact? Should they be so influenced?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. When an ethnologist speaks or writes of Siouan culture, how much of the way of life of the Sioux Indians does the term "culture" cover? Read or examine an ethnologist's work on Siouan culture or another primitive culture. List the principal elements of that culture with which the author deals.
2. Make a list of some of the principal distinctive elements in the culture or cultures of our own country. Or make such a list for England.
3. Find out what alien peoples may lawfully enter this country as immigrants, whether or not in limited numbers. Why are these admitted while others are excluded?
4. List at least ten factors, in addition to literature, that enter into the culture of any important people like the French, the English, or the Japanese.
5. In the current *World Almanac* or in any recent work of reference that is accessible look up the statistical figures concerning the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Note, in order, the half dozen most numerous language or racial groups. What percentage of the people are classed as Russians of one kind and another? Why is the term "Russia" for the entire land not accurate?

»» III ««

INTERNATIONAL WORKING BASES

The sympathy of neighboring countries is for nations no empty sound. It furnishes that gigantic buoyancy which, like a power of Providence, helps the victory of freedom and justice. It is the nature of all men and peoples to look around for friends and brothers, to provide themselves with new courage and to steel themselves with new strength. JOHN PHILIP BECKER

CHAPTER 8

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS

*L*AW, in the usual sense, consists of customs and rules and commands, for the breach of which penalties will be applied through the instrumentalities of authority. But what we are pleased to call international law, or the law of nations, is something else. It embraces customs, rules, and treaties, all of which are valid so far as they are respected by the common consent of nations but are yet without effective machinery for their international enforcement. The difficulty lies in the fact that international law operates on sovereignties rather than on individuals, and sovereign governments recognize no authority other than their own and that of the Supreme Being. Having noted the theoretical trouble with the term "international law," we shall go ahead and use it.

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

When one savage tribe established a working basis for intercourse, however slight, with another tribe, there was a nucleus for intertribal, or international, law. Thus the person of a messenger sent to ask for peace, or on another occasion to carry a declaration of war, was from remote times and in many regions considered inviolate until his errand had been completed. The privileged, even sacred, character of a people's official messenger or ambassador was from time to time disregarded. The ancient

Greeks threw emissaries who demanded submission to the king of Persia into deep wells and allowed them to perish there; some three hundred years ago the English hanged a Spanish ambassador; but such acts were exceptions noted and deplored by enlightened men. The rule was otherwise.

GROTIUS, PIONEER IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The idea that there ought to be and indeed that there actually existed a body of customs, rules, and principles having the force of law among the nations was not worked out until the first half of the seventeenth century. The time was one of civil warfare in England, of the conflict of the Netherlands against the Spaniards, and of the unspeakably barbarous Thirty Years' War in central and western Europe. Then Hugo Grotius, a learned Netherlander in exile in France, published a work in Latin, the English translation of which was entitled *Of the Laws of War and Peace*. He wrote so wisely and so well that his work actually created the subject of international law as a branch of jurisprudence and of learning.

Grotius' fundamental idea was that humanity and justice rather than force furnish the true basis for law to be observed by the family of nations. He maintained that the people throughout the nations have much in common, including the desire for justice. What would be right among individuals would be right among their communities; and it would be the same for a nation and among nations. His contribution consisted in recognizing the need for international law and in setting up ideals for relations among nations.

In each generation since the time of Grotius, writers have developed international law on the theoretical, or philosophical, side; and nations have in some measure accepted its principles and by their acts extended them. During the nineteenth century came the period of greatest development in this branch of law, marked by a number of international conferences and many treaty arrangements.

THE SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

There is no settled body of international law comparable with the great domestic codes of the nations of continental Europe. But there are a number of sources of international law which are respected in various degrees as authoritative. For our purposes the most satisfactory list of those sources is to be found in the statute for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice (page 185). Article 38 of that statute states that the court shall regard and apply as law —

1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
4. . . judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

It may be well to discuss briefly each of these four sources of international law, beginning with the first, which is also the most authoritative.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Special international conferences or conventions have produced hundreds of bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties. Such specific agreements among nations furnish a clear guide for international conduct. Many conventions and treaties deal with economic matters, such as fishing rights in specified waters or reciprocity in the matter of tariffs. Sometimes two or more nations will work out a treaty helpful in principle, whereupon other nations will follow their lead until the new principle is generally accepted and comes to be considered a part of international law.

A case in point occurred at Paris in 1856, when the representatives of a number of nations assembled to wind up the useless Crimean War. The delegates, in addition to their peacemaking, drew up the Declaration of Paris, which embodied several principles relating to the conduct of war at sea.

The Hague Conference of 1899 (page 176) provided a new code on war, with a system of arbitration for settling international disputes. The Hague Conference of 1907 added provisions for the rights of neutrals; but its achievements fell short of the recognized needs of the times. Beginning in 1920 the work of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice resulted, for a time, in the further extension of international law. The League made provision for systematizing and organizing international law into a code, a task which the League did not survive to complete.

The Pact of Paris (1928), known also as the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, by which war was renounced as an instrument of national policy, is an example of an agreement ratified by practically all the nations. To the calamity of all mankind, several of its principal signatories ignored it from the first.

INTERNATIONAL CUSTOM

After conventions, or treaties, as elements of international law, established and proved international custom had the force of law before the Permanent Court of International Justice. The same principles prevail before the present Court of International Justice of the United Nations.

The earliest of all laws were customs. Custom, it has been said, is for the group what habit is for the individual. When customs have become so well settled within a group that an individual is left with no choice but to follow them, they are law. Thus even among wolves there is "the Law of the Jungle," as Kipling tells us in the *Jungle Books*.

The common law, or customary law, that is at the bottom of all law among the English-speaking people remains to this day,

in theory, unwritten. We know what it is through recorded court decisions, some of which are hundreds of years old. The natural progression is from custom to written law, or statute law. This is true among a people, where we call the law domestic, and among peoples, where we call the law international. International law, being of later development than domestic law, has remained longer in the stage of custom. So it happens that the Court of International Justice of the United Nations is authorized — as was its predecessor — to inquire freely into business and diplomatic customs to determine the law in particular cases before it.

Maritime peoples in past centuries compiled their customs and statutes relating to travel and commerce at sea into bodies of laws. Thus in the Middle Ages there were the Laws of Oleron, named for the little island of Oleron off the western coast of France. These Laws of Oleron were adapted and adopted by the Hanseatic League and by other trading powers. International in character, they left a permanent imprint on international law and relations.

THE FORCE OF RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES OF LAW

"The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations" are to be taken into account in the adjudication of international cases and questions. The Romans, whose great contribution to the ancient world, besides order, was law, took account of such generally accepted principles; and in their body of law dealing with the affairs of non-Romans there was more than a hint of international law.

It used to be considered that the "general principles" of modern international law were derived from the basic principles of religion; and before the entrance of Japan into the family of nations, the Christian religion was specified in this connection. In the present state of the world one can only say, with regret, that "general principles of law" is a vague term as applied to the relations of nations.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS AS A GUIDE

Subject to some reservations which are specified in the statute creating it, the existing Court of International Justice may regard as authoritative "judicial teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations." This brings us back to Hugo Grotius and all the able and learned law-trained men since his time who have written about law and justice as they prevail or ought to prevail among the nations. In times when nations are willing to bow to reason, the wisdom of these men may be taken as law.

PHASES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The law is a fluid and pervasive philosophy. As a subject it is particularly difficult to break up into sections. International law and the domestic law of nations overlap and sometimes coincide. Often the laws of different nations touching the same states of fact are in conflict.

INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE LAW

No difficulty arises so long as national courts apply national laws to citizens within the national boundaries. But suppose that a marriage takes place in one country and divorce follows in another country; there are children, and a question arises concerning inheritance; the validity of the marriage or of the divorce will have much to do with the descent of the property. Or suppose that an American and a Canadian in Mexico make a contract concerning property in Panama, and afterward one undertakes to sue the other, over this contract, in a court of the United States. In all such cases nice questions arise, and these are classified under the head of "private international law," or more correctly "international private law." With this branch of law and learning, sometimes called "conflict of laws," we need not trouble ourselves further here than to note

that it exists; it enters but little, if at all, into current events and the relations of nations.

PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

The public field of international law is of major consequence to all mankind. It is political in its nature, and its subject matter includes the rules of the law pertaining to the following: peace, war, and neutrality; the high seas; rivers or lakes or seas forming international boundaries; boundaries especially as specified by treaties; the changing of sovereignty over territories, and what happens to financial and other obligations of inhabitants and government when sovereignty is changed; and all international bodies and their doings, as those that may come within the United Nations (and, formerly, those embraced within the League of Nations).

Here we can note only a few of the important principles of international law. The existing legally constituted government of any country is ordinarily recognized as the sovereign power by all other countries. One nation does not intervene to aid rebels in another country; nor should the citizens of one country be permitted to give private aid to rebels in another country; if a foreigner enlists in a rebel army he subjects himself to all the possible penalties that a native rebel may incur.

If a rebellion or a revolution becomes formidable, foreign countries may recognize the rebel government as a belligerent. Rebel war vessels will then be allowed to search neutral vessels at sea for contraband; that is, the rebel vessels will not be treated as pirates when they do this. The rebels will be permitted to buy war supplies as well as other goods abroad, always subject to capture, of course, by the forces of the government against which the rebellion is directed. If a rebellion fails, the foreign obligations incurred by the rebels cannot be enforced against the victorious government.

A war may be begun by the formal declaration by one nation against another, in which case the second country generally responds with a declaration. War may be begun merely by actual attack. This was done by the Japanese in their war with Russia at the beginning of this century, when Japanese war vessels torpedoed and sank Russian vessels in the harbor of Chemulpo. Thus a state of war was created without declaration, and all nations took cognizance of the legal fact of war. They at once treated both Japan and Russia as belligerents, with the privileges and the disabilities of belligerents, according to the rules of international law. In more recent years the elemental and ancient principle that the actual making of war creates a legal state of war has been disregarded, a notable case in point being that of the Chinese "incident." The Japanese in 1937 undertook the ruthless conquest of unoffending China. The Japanese announced to the world that there was an incident in China but no war. Other nations, including our own, for reasons not generally understood, accepted the Japanese fiction. This is one of many instances of the deterioration of international law since 1914.

The surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, instantly created a legal state of war between Japan and the United States, declaration or no declaration.

When one sovereign nation has been conquered by another, as Ethiopia was conquered by Italy (1935-1936), foreign nations may or may not recognize the conquest as lawful. Thus the United States and Great Britain refused to recognize the Italian position in Ethiopia as legal and permanent; the British and Free French expelled the Italians; and technically, in anti-Axis eyes, Haile Selassie has continued to be Emperor of Ethiopia ever since his succession to the throne. The League of Nations, of which Ethiopia was a member, would have made good its guarantee of Ethiopian independence if it had had power to do so. Here we have been noting a failure in enforcement rather than a lack of principles of international law.

INCIDENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty, according to the old authorities, covered (1) all the land area of a nation; (2) all "closed seas," like the Sea of Azov; and (3) a border of sea extending to the distance of a cannon shot — then considered to be three miles — from shore. The range of cannon was taken as the measure because that marked the limit of effective control directly from the land, beyond which extend the high seas, "the highway of all nations." By agreement with Great Britain during our era of national prohibition, control to a distance of twelve miles from shore was recognized as proper, and no other country objected. In 1919 the Air Navigation Convention specified that any sovereignty has full control of the air above its territories and thus has control of air travel and navigation. An old principle of the English common law that an owner of land owns the heavens above that land goes by the board so far as individuals are concerned; but the principle is applied to nations. The point for us to note is that the air over the land masses of the earth is not regarded as a highway of all nations; but the air over the high seas, like those seas themselves, of necessity is also a highway of all nations.

A sovereignty has full jurisdiction over all individuals within its borders, with a few exceptions that exist by common consent of the nations. A reigning sovereign or his diplomatic representative might in theory commit murder within a foreign country and not be accountable to the laws of that country. A visiting sovereign has little opportunity and less inclination to commit crime abroad; and when his representative commits some outrage abroad, a way is found to deal with him tactfully until he can be recalled by his sovereign. A visiting warship of a friendly power is theoretically not subject to the laws of the country visited, and an ambassador's or a minister's residence is regarded as a detached fragment of his own country while it keeps the peace with the country that has received him.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING BASES

Each nation specifies what persons or groups of persons are or may become citizens; provides its own rules of naturalization; regulates immigration; and expels or may expel aliens that it considers undesirable. The extradition of fugitive criminals is provided for by special treaties among the several nations. Fugitives who are wanted for political offenses and not for ordinary crimes are not expected to be surrendered; but they may be expelled.

Nations that preserve vestiges of honor recognize that their agreements and treaties with other nations are a part of their own system of laws, to be upheld in their courts. Our Constitution makes this specific provision: ". . . all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." (Article VI, Section 1, paragraph 2.)

THE MECHANICS OF RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS

The Constitution, besides placing in the President's hands the initiative in treaty making, gives him great powers of appointment. By implication it provides for the executive departments, the most important of which is the Department of State. It provides also that the President "shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls"; also that "he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers."

OFFICIALS ENTRUSTED WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In each sovereign nation with a parliamentary form of government the foreign minister, or secretary of state, is a member of the Cabinet. His department has become more and more elaborate, through the years, to cope with the multiplicity of problems demanding attention. Under his supervision, but appointed by the head of the government, are the political representatives of the country abroad. These are ambassadors and, of lesser rank, ministers.

Consuls also are under the department of foreign affairs, the state department. They are not classed as political representatives, as ambassadors or ministers are, and they are stationed in major commercial centers. A consul is not necessarily even a citizen of the country whose agent he happens to be. Consuls are concerned with the commercial affairs of the countries they represent. Their reports on economic conditions abroad are valuable to the business interests in the home country. Consuls help to keep the wheels of trade running smoothly; they give information and advice on occasion; they help travelers, tourists, seamen, and persons who may be stranded in the regions where the consular offices are located. In times when war is imminent both diplomatic and consular officers help citizens of the country they represent to reach places of safety. Since 1924 United States diplomatic and consular officers have been united in one organization called the Foreign Service.

Strong disapproval of the actions or policies of another nation may be expressed by recalling the ambassador or minister; but a chargé d'affaires may in such case continue to keep the embassy or legation open. If there is a complete breach of relations, the entire staff will be called home and the country that they are leaving will assure their safe departure.

For attendance at very important international conferences special delegates called ministers plenipotentiary are chosen to represent a country. Usually these delegates are charged with power to act only on the special business in hand. A century ago a special delegate had to act independently for the best interests of the nation and hope that his action would be acceptable to his nation later. With cable and telephone service available, special as well as regular diplomatic or consular officers are expected to cable or telephone home for specific advice and instruction; they are always in touch with their home government.

The whole system of international diplomacy is based on

old custom; on specific agreements between or among nations; and on regulations set up by each nation for its foreign service. The practice of safe conduct and diplomatic immunity for the foreign representative of a sovereign, or for the sovereign himself, has a long and fascinating story of development. The practice of an embassy in flying its national flag and being considered under the laws of the home country is another interesting development. There is a whole system of traditional etiquette for diplomatic officers which is recognized by all countries. It is the practice for a new ambassador to make an official call and present his credentials to the head of the country to which he is sent. When a person designated for appointment as an ambassador or as a minister would be personally unwelcome in the country to which he might be sent, the second nation may and does represent to the first nation that the particular individual would be *persona non grata* (an unacceptable person). Thereupon another and acceptable appointment is made. Likewise, if a diplomatic representative makes himself objectionable after he has begun to serve officially, he will be recalled at once and without question at the request of the country to which he is accredited.

THE RATIFICATION OF TREATIES

The procedure for negotiating treaties is necessarily standardized; but for the ratification of treaties different nations have their own procedures and these must be observed by each nation concerned before treaty stipulations become binding. In the United States, under a provision of the Constitution, a two-thirds majority of the Senate is necessary for ratification. In Great Britain a treaty lies before Parliament for twenty-one days before action, and that interval allows plenty of time to raise questions. In order to fulfill treaty obligations that require the expenditure of money or that involve changes in the status of persons or property, Parliament must legislate; and in this country Congress must act to implement a treaty.

In Germany under the Weimar Republic the action of the Reichstag was necessary for the ratification of a treaty. In France under the late Third Republic the Chamber of Deputies authorized the President to ratify.

When countries have succumbed to dictatorships, with the resulting destruction of the legislative branch of government, the dictators proceed with treaty making and breaking and all international affairs without legislative checks.

THE STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

So far as the nations have observed the rules of international law they have done so because of the obvious benefits accruing from those rules. There must be a working basis, a *modus vivendi*, among independent sovereignties, and this is supplied only by international law. In times of war attention is focused on destruction and on violations of international law; yet international law continues to function in spite of war. Certainly the law of war, which constitutes a large part of international law, functions in some measure in wartime. When opportunity therefor returns with peace, the work of strengthening the law of nations is taken up once more. Ever-increasing contacts compel increasing coöperation.

There are those who hold that in time there must come some form of international controlling body that can and will force the nations to observe treaty and other obligations. If that end is to be achieved, as by the United Nations, each nation will have to give up some of its independence of action and permit in a measure the impairment of its sovereignty. It was jealousy of their sovereignty that caused the principal powers of the time to hamstring the League of Nations.

In considering the affairs of nations we need always to take the long view rather than look merely at the immediate situation; for the lives of nations, barring conquest, are a matter of ages rather than of years.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. When we speak of law in relation to our affairs as citizens, what does the word "law" mean?
2. In the science of physics, what does "law" mean — as when we speak of "the law of gravity"?
3. What do we mean by the term "international law"?
4. In what respect is international law basically different from domestic law — the law that prevails only within a nation?
5. Why is it a good thing to have a system of international law, however imperfect?
6. The fuller the development of international law and the more widespread its observance, the more civilized is the family of nations. Give reasons for this statement.
7. What feeling among the thirteen original states made it very difficult for the founding fathers to frame our present form of national government? What feeling among the nations of our day operates against the higher development of international law?
8. Name three or four elements, or sources, of international law.
9. With what subject matter especially did the Declaration of Paris deal (in 1856)?
10. Has there been a steady and unbroken advance in international law and international morality since 1856? Cite examples to support your answer.
11. What is the outstanding duty of a genuine neutral as between belligerents?
12. Why is it extremely difficult for a small country near the scene of warfare to remain neutral?
13. Why is it almost impossible for a major power to remain genuinely neutral in a major war between or among other powers?
14. Define "high seas." What law, if any, prevails on the high seas? in the air above the high seas?
15. If the ambassador from Erehwon were to throw a brick through a White House window, what might be done about the incident?
16. If a sovereign power of its own free will enters into a treaty with our country and then utterly disregards that treaty, what, if anything, can our country do about the matter?
17. Name the grades of diplomatic representatives (consuls not included). To what countries does the United States send representatives of the highest rank?

RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS

18. How is the negotiation of a treaty ordinarily arranged and carried out? What is necessary to ratification by this country? If a treaty requires a money payment by our government, what official or what body makes the money available?
19. What is the effective date of a treaty? Do historians follow this rule consistently?
20. War is the negation of law; yet international law operates to a limited degree in wartime, even among the bitterest antagonists. Explain.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

Let different students find out about the following matters and report on them to the class.

1. Those causes of the War of 1812 that had to do with the use of the high seas.
2. The Trent (Mason-and-Slidell) Affair of 1861.
3. The situation in which all purchasers of the bonds of the Confederate States of America were left after the collapse of the Confederacy.
4. The Perdicaris incident, during Theodore Roosevelt's Presidency.
5. Japan's Twenty-One Demands on China, and what was done about them.



"What are they doing there?" Secret diplomacy as seen by a European cartoonist in 1910. Through the centuries disagreeable surprises have been laid up for the world in secret treaties. Woodrow Wilson had this in mind when, in his Fourteen Points, he called for "open covenants, openly arrived at."



By the Treaty of Versailles, Togo and the Cameroons were assigned, for the greater part, to France; German Southwest Africa, now called Southwest Africa, was made a mandate under the Union of South Africa; German East Africa, now called Tanganyika, was made a mandate under Great Britain. Compare this map with the one on page 183.

CHAPTER 9

EFFORTS FOR COOPERATION AND PEACE

*F*ROM 1856, the date of the Declaration of Paris, until 1914, when Germany violated the guaranteed neutrality of Belgium, there was a promising advance in international law, morality, and cooperation; and enlightened men and women held high hopes for the future. It was observed that the great powers among the nations had much at stake in commerce and that they desired and would promote peace as a matter of enlightened selfishness, for only in peacetime could commerce thrive to the advantage of all engaged therein.

PROGRESS UNTIL 1914

For more than half a century after 1856 there were indeed wars, but these remained duels between nations or between parts of nations, not becoming general. In point are the American Civil War (1861-1865), the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). During this period many causes of friction that could have been seized upon to start wars were settled by arbitration, and there were numerous instances of international constructive action.

VARIOUS ARRANGEMENTS AMONG NATIONS

In 1865 the Latin Monetary Union, providing a single standard for the currencies of France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzer-

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land (Greece, too, in 1868), was entered into. The Scandinavian Monetary Union followed in 1873.

A particularly interesting example of international coöperation that has led to real international administration is the Universal Postal Union organized in 1874. The nations granted enough power to the Union to enable it to manage international mail, which it does very satisfactorily.

The Telegraph Union and the International Bureau of Weights and Measures were formed in 1875; the Patent Union in 1883; the International Copyright Union in 1887; and the Railway Tariff Union in 1890. Each of these provided valuable regulation or protection that was not attainable through the action of any single state. Each aided in simplifying and standardizing activities in the international field.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT UNION

Our country, like China, is not a member of the International Copyright Union. This is because our copyright law requires that in order to obtain protection in the United States, any book or pamphlet published in the English language must be set in type and printed here. Among members of the International Copyright Union copyright protection is universal. To secure international protection for his own work an American author or his publisher secures copyright here, and simultaneously he secures British copyright purely through the courtesy of Great Britain. British copyright then operates to give the American author's work international protection. However, we have laws that can be invoked to discourage the pirating of foreign works by our printers and publishers, copyright or no copyright. It is of interest that two American publishers got out editions in English of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, almost simultaneously, not so many years ago. One publisher undertook scrupulously to pay roy-

alties to Hitler. The other publisher pirated the work but donated the amount that the author might have received to a cause that the publisher considered worthy. There are persons who would regard piracy as piracy, whether committed against the vicious or the virtuous.

ARBITRATION

Substantial progress was made in methods of peaceful settlement of international disputes by arbitration, before the outbreak of war in 1914. Arbitration as a method of settling disputes may be resorted to by nations; by groups, as contending employers and employees; and by individuals. Courts in English-speaking countries have from time immemorial appointed arbitrators, or referees, to settle points of dispute in some classes of cases. The decision in most cases of arbitration represents a compromise.

One of the most notable instances of arbitration was that pertaining to the Alabama claims. The United States demanded of Great Britain payment for damages caused by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers. These vessels had been outfitted by British subjects with the connivance of the British government. In 1871 the two countries agreed to arbitrate. Great Britain appointed one arbitrator and the United States one. There was also an arbitrator from Italy, there was one from Switzerland, and one from Brazil. The tribunal of five met at Geneva in 1871 and in the following year made its award. The British government was required to pay to the United States, for the benefit of its citizens who had suffered damages from the Confederate commerce raiders, the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold. At least equally important was the affirmation of the principle that a neutral nation has no right to permit its subjects to assist one belligerent against another, as happened in the case of the cruisers that flew the Confederate flag.

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At the close of the nineteenth century Argentina had a boundary dispute with Brazil and another with Chile. President Grover Cleveland was made arbitrator of the Brazilian dispute, which he decided in favor of Brazil. The other dispute, over Andean territory in Patagonia, was arbitrated by King Edward VII of Great Britain, who made a compromise award in 1902. The countries concerned accepted the awards, and the Argentinians and Chileans commemorated the peace that was established between them by erecting on the boundary line at a pass in the Andes a colossal statue, the "Christ of the Andes."

THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

In 1899, at the suggestion of the unfortunate Czar Nicholas II of Russia, twenty-six nations sent representatives to The Hague, there to devise a permanent mode of international arbitration with a view to promoting world peace, and to consider what might be done about the ever-increasing world burden of armaments. As a result of this meeting the International Court of Arbitration, commonly called the Hague Tribunal, was set up. A second conference was held in 1907 with nearly twice as many nations represented. Both these peace conferences formulated rules of neutrality and drafted regulations to make war more humane; but they did nothing about disarmament, because Germany, France, Japan, and other nations were unwilling to give up their programs for the expansion of armaments. Most of the nations ratified the work of the Hague conferences.

The Hague Tribunal arbitrated a number of difficult and dangerous questions between nations. The United States and Mexico submitted the first dispute for settlement by the Tribunal, a matter concerning the boundary at one place along the Rio Grande. Not the least of the services of the Hague Tribunal was the working out of a set of rules for the conduct

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of arbitration proceedings before any arbitrator or court. The Tribunal has had no more than a shadowy existence since the outbreak of world warfare in 1914.

EFFORTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

During the second, third, and fourth decades of this century there was a decline in international law. Perhaps it might be more accurate to say that the decline was in international morality rather than in law. Nevertheless, great efforts for the promotion of international good will and morality and law were made within the same time. Notable among those efforts was the launching of the League of Nations.

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

At President Wilson's insistence, the Covenant of the League of Nations was included in the Treaty of Versailles. Before the war of 1914 to 1918 two Americans had done pioneer work in the cause of an international league — Secretary of State Elihu Root and President William Howard Taft. The basic purpose of the league they envisaged was to maintain peace among the nations. And this also was Wilson's idea. Wilson's Covenant of the League of Nations was really a constitution. It indicated that there should be a new international court for the settlement of disputes among nations, but the work of this court was to be entirely separate from the work of the League. The court was to have jurisdiction in a wider variety of cases than the Hague Tribunal, which, by inference, it was to supersede.

For generations men had dreamed of some such thing as a parliament of nations, and at length they were confronted with the practical problem of making a super-confederacy work.

Unfortunately, the League ship of state was launched with weaknesses of structure, perhaps unavoidable; and it was

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launched in a troubled sea. The nations were jealous of their sovereign powers: important measures, the ones really carrying danger to world peace, were required to be decided by unanimous vote. Those who favored the League idea knew well the fundamental weaknesses of the Covenant; but they hoped that if this international organization could anywise be given the breath of life it would grow and extend its powers and its influence.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE

The organization of the League of Nations was not complicated: two houses, the Council and the Assembly, constituted the legislative department; and the Secretariat, composed of a full-time force under a Secretary General, constituted the executive branch. The Secretariat undertook all research work, made reports, compiled statistics, and issued publications. Judicial powers were vested in the World Court, meeting at The Hague. An International Labor Organization concerned itself about living conditions and other matters of welfare throughout the world.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY

The League of Nations began to function in 1920. The original intention was that the Council, composed largely of the Great Powers, should dominate the work of the League; it was thought that the League Assembly, meeting once a year in a large group with all the confusion of various languages, would probably get nothing done. As it happened, the Assembly came to be considered of equal importance with the Council, and some persons felt that the Assembly was of the greater importance.

The language difficulty in the Assembly was largely eliminated. Beside each member attending a meeting was a small

telephone. In place of dialing a number, the member dialed the language he wished to hear. At their posts behind the scenes, the expert linguists of the League Secretariat immediately translated all remarks and speeches into the several telephones. Thus a member could listen to a translation which was only about a sentence behind the actual words of the speaker, and all the while he could observe the expression of the speaker and note the responses of the audience.

The support of the small nations did much to strengthen the position of the Assembly. These nations, and notably Ethiopia, felt that the League might afford them protection against aggression. The Assembly meetings were viewed as a great clearinghouse for information and ideas concerning the entire world, a means of mobilizing international opinion. The small nations succeeded in having the number of non-permanent members of the League Council raised from four to ten.

THE COURSE OF LEAGUE DEVELOPMENT

The League of Nations in its career from 1920 to 1939 went through three rather distinct periods. The period between 1920 and 1925 was one of organization and getting the work started. This formative period brought no major crises, and the League gradually assumed an important place in international politics. Loss of confidence resulted, however, from the success of Italian aggression against Yugoslavia at Fiume and of Polish aggression in part of Silesia, and from other breaches of the Treaty of Versailles and principles of the League. The occupation by French and Belgian troops of the great German industrial region, the Ruhr, during 1923, 1924, and 1925, although undertaken to enforce sanctions (penalties) specified in the Treaty of Versailles, was nowise helpful (page 211).

The period between 1926 and 1930 saw the prestige and influence of the League at its highest. Germany was admitted to

membership; under Chancellor Stresemann she undertook a "policy of fulfillment," trying hard to carry out her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles (page 73). In 1928 came the Pact of Paris (the Kellogg-Briand Treaty), for the outlawing of aggressive warfare (page 197). It seemed that the world was pulling out of the post-war chaos. The rising importance of the League was reflected in the fact that the most important statesmen of Europe attended its meetings.

During the 1930's the League underwent one crisis after another, as indeed did most of the nations, whether members or non-members.

DIFFICULTIES LAID BEFORE THE LEAGUE

It will be worth while to note some of the problems that the League was invited to deal with at different times. Back in 1920, the Åland Islands, located between Finland and Sweden, were claimed by both countries. The League Council appointed a commission to settle the question. The commission decided that the islands belonged to Finland but that the Swedish language and institutions were to be preserved and that the neutrality of the islands was to be guaranteed by the European nations.

In 1923 Italian members of a commission to decide the boundary between Greece and Albania were assassinated on Greek territory. Italy sent to Greece an ultimatum embodying a number of demands. Greece did not at once comply, insisting there was no proof that the murderers were Greek citizens. Thereupon Italian warships bombarded the Greek island of Corfu, killing a number of innocent persons besides causing property damage; and the Italians occupied Corfu. Greece appealed to the League of Nations. The difficulty was referred to a council of ambassadors for decision. Damages and other penalties were imposed upon Greece because of the assassinations, the Italians evacuated Corfu, and war was averted.

In 1931 China, in the face of Japanese military aggression in Manchuria, appealed to the League. Japanese forces then attacked Shanghai. The League Assembly voted not to recognize any conquest made by Japan in disregard of the League of Nations. The League Council appointed a neutral commission to investigate and report on the situation in Manchuria. The Earl of Lytton, a Britisher, was chairman of this commission, and with him were an Italian commissioner, one Frenchman, one German, and one American. After a survey of the actual areas and all the facts involved, the Lytton Commission published its report in October, 1932. The report showed that Japan had not acted in self-defense or otherwise warrantably. The Commission proposed a special form of autonomous government for Manchuria. Japan flouted the League and the Lytton Commission; she enlarged Manchuria by conquests of adjoining Chinese territory and created a puppet empire under the name of Manchukuo; she gave notice of her resignation from the League, and continued without cessation her policy of expansion in China. Japan thus gave League prestige the worst blow that it had so far received.

In the 1870's the Italians had secured a foothold on the East African coast, below the Red Sea. From that vantage point they attempted to reduce Ethiopia (also called Abyssinia) to subjection in the 1880's and 1890's; but after a defeat at Adowa in 1896 they acknowledged the independence of this ancient country. Ethiopia entered the League of Nations in 1923. When Mussolini came to power in Italy it was part of his program to restore and build up Italian prestige everywhere, and particularly in Ethiopia. An "incident" that might give him a pretext for aggression against Ethiopia was bound to come, and it did come in 1934. This was a clash of Italian and Ethiopian patrols within territory that both countries claimed. Italy threatened Ethiopia, which in December, 1934, appealed to the League of Nations for peaceful settlement. The Italians began to make formidable military preparations

in their East African colonies; and in October, 1935, Mussolini, disregarding the League and the Pact of Paris, undertook the conquest of Ethiopia, the last sizable independent native state in Africa. He probably felt that since Japan had successfully seized Manchuria, the League would do nothing except protest. Italian aggression against Ethiopia, however, directly involved British interests and the safety of the Empire; and Great Britain insisted upon drastic League action against Italy. In October, 1935, all the nations in the League Council, except Italy, voted that Italy had resorted to war contrary to the League provisions. They called for the enforcement of economic sanctions — a trade boycott — against Italy, as provided for violators of the League in its Covenant. This was the first time that sanctions were applied by international action to curb an act of conquest. Great Britain massed a large portion of its navy in the Mediterranean, and feelings ran high. The danger of a general European war was very real.

France was in a difficult position between the interests of Britain and Italy. She played a game of half-measures designed to keep her on speaking terms with both Britain and Italy. The war dragged on month after month, and every effort was made by Italy to conquer the land before the rainy season would start in June of 1936. The economic sanctions of the League reduced both Italy's exports and imports; prices went up and there was considerable hardship within the country. But the sanctions were not rigidly enforced; there was no boycott on the sale to Italy of gasoline and lubricating oil, the most vital of the materials for modern warfare that Italy did not produce in quantity. Italy withdrew from the League.

In May, 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie fled his country. In person, using the French language, he pleaded the case of Ethiopia before the League Assembly; later he went to England to live. The failure of the League to halt Italian aggression seemed to end Ethiopia's existence as a nation, although

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Africa, showing political divisions in 1940, on the eve of Italy's entrance into the present world war. Note that Liberia was the only independent native state left on the continent. Officially the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and a number of other countries never admitted that Ethiopia had lost her independent status.

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some of the Ethiopians were never completely subdued by the Italians. In 1939, upon the outbreak of war in Europe, the tribesmen took down their old war drums and kept them booming monotonously, ominously. British Empire forces and some Free French entered the country; the Ethiopians rallied; the isolated Italians, with the Suez route closed against aid for them, resisted for months but all in vain; and in 1941 Haile Selassie returned to his capital and his throne. Further, the British took over all the other Italian territory in East Africa.

The League's failure to halt the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, a member nation, in 1935 and 1936 had a paralyzing effect upon the League, and it caused acute embarrassment to both British and French leaders.

On the heels of the world misfortune of Ethiopia, civil war. fare broke out in Spain in July, 1936. It was of greatest importance to the rest of the world to keep the trouble in Spain localized and not allow it to spread to other parts of Europe. The League appointed a futile non-intervention committee and passed several resolutions; further, it stood by ineptly while the Italians and the Germans intervened to help overthrow the legally constituted government of the Spanish republic.

When the crisis came that resulted in the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1938, nobody seems to have thought of the League as a source of help. Czechoslovakia, like Ethiopia, was a League member in good standing. The League was in the situation of a government that is too weak to protect its own subjects, thus failing in its first duty toward them.

LEAGUE SUBSIDIARIES

So far as this country was concerned the League of Nations itself was less important than some of its sections for international service, whose work our government in one way and another furthered. Along with the League the World Court deserves special attention, as does the International Labor Organization

THE WORLD COURT

It must be kept in mind that the Permanent Court of International Justice, called the World Court, was of wholly different creation from the earlier Hague Tribunal. The jurisdiction of the Tribunal was limited to questions for arbitration; it did not extend to a wide variety of international cases, as did the jurisdiction of the World Court. The World Court sat in the Peace Palace at The Hague which had been built as the gift of Andrew Carnegie to house the old Tribunal, and there was a common purpose to promote world peace; otherwise there was no association.

The World Court was the twin rather than the child of the League of Nations. Its work was kept entirely separate from the work of the League. Even the memberships of the Court and the League were separate: a nation might belong to the Court and not to the League.

The jurisdiction of the World Court extended only to questions of an international character. The Court might not deal with the internal affairs of any nation. Unlike our Supreme Court, the World Court had power to give an "advisory opinion"; that is, the World Court was permitted, upon proper request, to give its opinion concerning the law in a particular case even when that case had not been brought before it for actual decision. Such an opinion in practice had the force of a legal precedent; that is, the opinion set forth a rule that nations might follow in confidence that their actions would be upheld by the Court.

The first decision of the World Court was made in 1923 concerning the Kiel Canal. That canal extends across German territory south of Denmark; through it ships pass from the North Sea into the Baltic without going around Denmark. A British vessel carrying French munitions intended for the Poles, who were fighting the Soviet Russians, was not allowed by the Germans to pass through the canal. The Germans

maintained that their country was neutral in the difficulties between Poland and Russia, and that it would be, or would have been, an unneutral act to allow the vessel to pass. The World Court decided in a nine-to-three decision that the Kiel Canal, according to the Treaty of Versailles, was an international waterway; that the canal must be open to all vessels, with the one qualification that the nations using the canal be at peace with Germany. The Court mentioned the Panama and Suez canals as examples of international waterways thus open to the vessels of all nations.

An advisory opinion by the World Court concerned German resident owners of Polish land who were deprived of their property by Poland following the World War. The Court upheld the rights of the German minorities in Poland. Another advisory opinion announced the right of the Danzig courts to exercise jurisdiction over Polish railroads operated within the Danzig territory.

A citizen of the United States was usually included among the judges of the World Court. John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, Frank Billings Kellogg, and Manley Hudson served at one time and another. There were repeated efforts to get the United States Senate to ratify an agreement to join the World Court. Several Presidents favored our joining; and in 1926 the Senate voted for our adherence to the Court, but with the five following reservations or stipulations:

- (1) Membership in the Court not to involve any relations with the League of Nations.
- (2) The United States to have an equal voice with other countries in the election of judges.
- (3) The United States to pay a fair share of the Court's expenses as determined by Congress.
- (4) The statutes of the Court not to be amended without the consent of the United States, the United States to be free to withdraw from the Court at any time.

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- (5) No advisory opinion to be given publicly until after notice to all the member nations, and no advisory opinion touching the interests of the United States to be given without American consent.

The member nations of the World Court did not accept this list of reservations, and our country never formally joined the Court.

The World Court discontinued its sittings upon the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. By that time it had built up a body of procedure, had made numerous decisions, had further developed the principles of international law, and had smoothed the way for its successor, the Court of International Justice of the United Nations.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The International Labor Organization, often called simply the "I. L. O." was created by the Treaty of Versailles, along with the League of Nations. It is devoted to the promotion of peace through the improvement of labor and other economic conditions; its work is non-political. The purpose of the I. L. O. has been to get a uniform labor code adopted by all countries. Those countries where labor enjoys advantages and comforts have suffered from the competition of nations where labor is exploited, wages being small and the standard of living low. The I. L. O. has succeeded in securing the acceptance by many nations of conventions (lesser treaty arrangements) covering the following points: the establishment of the eight-hour day, a minimum working age of fourteen years, prohibition of night work for women and children, improvement of health conditions, social insurance, and the right of workers to organize.

The I. L. O. called a conference for studying labor and other problems of the textile industries throughout the world, to meet at Washington, D. C., in April, 1937. Representatives

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of governments, employers, and laborers from twenty-three nations met at the conference and considered such matters as over-production, low wages, and cutthroat competition — all very difficult problems. That none of these problems could be removed by the work of a single conference was to be expected.

The United States joined the I. L. O. in 1935. During the Second World War the organization functioned chiefly on United States soil.



"Drop it!" A cartoon drawn by Rollin Kirby in 1921. (See page 195)

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDED FOR BY THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

(A) THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I. THE ASSEMBLY

Membership. All member nations in the League. (Each member nation allowed as many as three delegates, but only one vote.)

Time and place of meeting. Annually in September, at Geneva in Switzerland

Powers. Empowered to "deal . . . with any matter in the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." (League Covenant, Article 3, par. 3.)

Special duties. Admit new members (by a two-thirds vote).

Elect nonpermanent members to the Council.

Control the League budget.

Apportion League expenses among member states.
(1934-1935, total cost about \$10,000,000)

Offer amendments to the League Covenant.

Concurrently with the Council, elect the judges of the World Court

II. THE COUNCIL

Membership. (a) Permanent members The major powers, each with one delegate and one vote. (Original members, in 1920, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan. Admitted in 1926, Germany; in 1934, Russia. Withdrawn in 1935, Japan, Germany; in 1939, Italy. Expelled in 1939, Russia)

(b) Nonpermanent members Eleven minor powers, elected by the Assembly from among the members of the League, for a three-year term; one vote each.

Time and place of meetings. Regular meetings in January, May, and September, usually at Geneva. Special meetings called when necessary.

Powers. To "deal . . . with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." (League Covenant, Article 4, par. 4.)

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Special duties. Provide means for amicable settlement of international disputes that threaten war (as by mediation, arbitration, judicial decision, international boycott).

Prepare plans for reduction of armaments.

Supervise the mandated territories (pages 71, 267).

Approve appointments made by the Secretary General.

Appoint the high commissioner for the Free City of Danzig.

Be responsible for the protection of minorities in various nations.

(Formally responsible for the government in the Saar Basin until 1935. Supervised the plebiscite held in January, 1935, by which the people voted to return to Germany.)

III. THE SECRETARIAT

Membership. The organization constituted an international civil service under complete charge of a Secretary General chosen by the Assembly and Council for a term of ten years. About 600 officials, appointed by the Secretary General.

Time and place of meeting. Work carried on throughout the year, at Geneva.

Powers. No power within itself. Created to make preparatory researches and studies for the Assembly and Council and to perform the necessary detailed work in all phases of League activity.

Special duties. The Secretariat was divided into sections, each of which specialized in one field (Political, Economic, and Financial Mandates, Disarmament, Opium Traffic, Health, etc.).

Through a staff of expert linguists the Secretariat translated speeches and prepared material for publication. (French and English are the official languages) Publications included *Verbatim Records, Monthly Summary, and Official Journal*.

The League Library was maintained

Registration of treaties.

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(B) THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (THE WORLD COURT)

The Permanent Court was established, but not organized, by the Treaty of Versailles. A plan for its operation was drawn up by an Advisory Committee of jurists in 1920 and adopted by the Assembly of the League in 1921.

Membership. Open to all nations. (In 1938 there were 54 member nations. In 1944 there were 45 members. A nation might be a member of the World Court and not a member of the League.)

The Court had fifteen regular judges and four deputy judges, selected by the League Assembly and Council for a term of nine years.

Time and place of meeting. Annual sessions, with special sessions when necessary, in the Peace Palace at The Hague. (Expenses provided for by member nations and paid through the League budget.)

Jurisdiction. The Court might judge only between or among *nations*; it had no authority over individuals as such; it might not consider the grievance of an individual against a nation.

The Court accepted only cases in which the *legal* rights of the disputing nations were to be decided.

The Court might consider cases that were brought before it by nations that had differences; it might not on its own motion take upon itself the settlement of disputes.

Cases might be submitted to the Court by non-member nations as well as by member nations; also by a non-member nation and a member nation.

Member nations that had a difference might or might not choose to submit their dispute to the Court. However, there was a clause (known as the "optional clause") in the plan of the Court which provided that a member nation might formally agree to "compulsory" action by the Court in any case that involved:

- (1) The interpretation of a treaty
- (2) A question of international law
- (3) Existence of any situation that might be a breach of international law
- (4) The reparation to be made for a breach or violation of international law

More than forty nations signed the "optional clause."

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The nation agreed in advance to permit the Court to act in any such case and thereafter to accept and help to carry out the Court's decision.

All decisions of the Court were based on international law.

A majority vote of the judges determined the decision.

An "advisory opinion" might be given by the Court upon the submission of a question by a single member nation. An advisory opinion showed how the Court would stand on a question if it were brought before the Court in a formally submitted case.

(C) THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

The International Labor Organization was established by the Treaty of Versailles as a separate institution. It was not a part of the League of Nations.

Membership. All members of the League of Nations were automatically members of the ILO. Membership is open to all nations upon application.

Time and place of meeting The annual meeting and all minor meetings were originally held in the Organization's building at Geneva. Latterly the headquarters have been located in Toronto.

Purpose. To improve conditions of labor and standards of living.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

President Herbert Hoover once referred to national prohibition as "a noble experiment." And surely the League of Nations might well be described by the same phrase. Its very limitations or failures carried obvious lessons.

SOURCES OF LEAGUE WEAKNESS

The League got off to a bad start, being part and parcel of the dictated Treaty of Versailles and designed to perpetuate the arrangements of that treaty. It was not at any time wholeheartedly supported by any one of the major member nations. The United States, which gave the League of Nations its

founder, would have nothing to do with the League or even with the treaty that created it. In short, voluntary coöperation for the good of mankind in general did not fail, for it was not even tried.

The story of the League might well be compared with the story of the thirteen original states under the loose Articles of Confederation. The Confederation could not effectively coerce a state or any citizen of a state; and the result was ever-increasing contempt for the powerless Congress. Fear of something akin to anarchy constrained the thirteen states to adopt a form of government with teeth in it, the Constitution under which forty-eight states now coöperate under a benign compulsion. It seems not unreasonable to imagine that the nations may some day come together comparably. Possibly the United Nations will grow strong and meet the need of the world.

Only by just, quick, powerful, and concerted action on the part of the more advanced nations can any international authority like the League or the United Nations be upheld. Further, justice must be even: there must be just dealings even with the unjust, or there will be no real justice for anybody or any nation. And there can be no playing or dubious politics if any shred of idealism is to be preserved.

Some able students of world affairs are of opinion that any world organization should be organized on a regional basis. Thus Europe might constitute one region and the Americas another. Or a lesser area, like that of the Balkan and Danubian countries, might constitute a natural, logical region, as was suggested at the I. L. O. conference of 1941. One has only to think of Africa to be impressed with the difficulty involved in regionalizing the world. But with regions defined and organized, the nations within a major region would deal with trouble therein. And if the trouble got out of bounds the greater League might deal with it. The Pan-American Union is a present instance of a regional setup for coöperation to limited ends.

SERVICES RENDERED

The League of Nations rendered a service in a tryout of sanctions. The use of sanctions against Italy because of her Ethiopian adventure produced sufficient economic embarrassment to Italy to show what might be done. Comprehensive sanctions, well planned and well enforced, plus responsibility on the part of the regional nations, might in some cases be made as effective as a shooting war in dealing with a lawless nation.

A notable contribution of the League was in the field of non-political activity. A series of suggestions for the furtherance of justice among men was made in the League Covenant. Out of these developed a wide range of activities, including health work, activities for the control of the international trade in narcotics, and the work of the International Labor Organization. If the League had done no more than conduct such non-political activities, many feel that it would still have been worth while.

PURPOSES AND PROSPECTS

The basic purpose of the League of Nations, as we have noted, was to preserve the peace of the world. That purpose came to be identified with the preservation of the system created by the Treaty of Versailles and its companion treaties. The nations defeated in the war of 1914 to 1918 and also Italy, which had been on the victorious side, were dissatisfied with some of the treaty provisions. These nations, called the "revisionist nations," felt with some justice that the League was being used as a means to keep them down. However, when a policy of conciliation or appeasement was resorted to with reference to them, they refused to be conciliated.

A nation with a rapidly expanding population needs some way to enlarge her food supplies and resources, or else to get rid of her excess population. The exhaustion of natural resources, the development of new needs, as for oil and rare

EFFORTS FOR COOPERATION AND PEACE

minerals, and the development of new industrial processes, severally and in combination these influence the outlooks and the acts of governments. How can we preserve peace and at the same time make provision for the peaceful adoption of desirable or imperative changes? Clearly, an international government that is to serve the best interests of the world must be firm as well as somewhat flexible.

After all, the mere fact that in the League of Nations the framework of an international organization was once set up and actually undertook to deal with relations among the nations pointed to a new and better way for all mankind. It suggested the present more vigorous organization with the same general purpose, the United Nations.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IN THE '20's AND '30's

During the years while the League of Nations functioned there were numerous extra-League activities, for the furtherance of League purposes. Notable were a number of international conferences.

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES

In 1921 President Harding invited a number of nations to send delegates to a conference to be held at Washington, which was to concern itself with limitation of armaments and Far Eastern and Pacific questions. The conference was held during the latter part of 1921 and the earlier part of 1922. A number of treaties resulted, three being of special importance. In one of these three powers participated; in another, four; in another, nine.

The *Five-Power Treaty* obligated Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy to suspend the building of first-class battleships — capital ships — and to scrap some of their then existing battleships; also it fixed a total capital-ship tonnage ratio of 5 for Great Britain and 5 for the United States to 3 for

Japan, and .167 for France and .167 for Italy. The *Four-Power Treaty* pledged the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan to respect each other's island possessions in Asia and to settle disputes by peaceful methods. The *Nine-Power Treaty* was entered into by the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, and China. In it the independence of China and the "Open Door" policy respecting trade in China were asserted, or rather reasserted, and guaranteed. The Open Door policy, initiated by the United States in 1899 and acquiesced in by the other nations, required that the territorial integrity of China should be respected and that all nations should have the right to trade with China on an equal footing (page 262).

The Washington (Disarmament) Conference, called also the Arms Conference, is chiefly remembered for the Five-Power Treaty, which dealt with naval armaments. It had been hoped that the Conference might succeed in having limitations placed both on military armaments and on naval vessels of all classes; but agreement could be reached only with reference to capital ships.

In a conference held at London in 1930, the Five-Power Treaty was revised (revision ratified in 1931) as it applied to the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. France and Italy withdrew from the arrangement, leaving only a three-power pact. Other conferences concerning the limitation of naval armaments were held at Geneva and at London; but these accomplished nothing of lasting importance. Japan refused to be bound by the Five-Power Treaty after 1936; and thus the naval-limitation agreement, which had been renewed in 1931, came to an end.

The high hopes that were entertained at Washington in 1921 were not realized. But it was something that the principle of voluntary limitation of armaments was actually recognized in any field for a decade and a half, and men of good will were heartened for a time.

OTHER CONFERENCES

At Locarno, Switzerland, in 1925, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and Belgium entered into a treaty by which the frontiers of Germany with France and Belgium were guaranteed. Also, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia made arbitration agreements among themselves that seemed to remove the menace of war.

In 1928, at Paris, a pact was drawn up that was ratified by the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and many other countries. By it the nations renounced war "as an instrument of national policy" and pledged themselves to try to settle all disputes among them by peaceful means.

At Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1932, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and Germany came to an agreement which in practice, though not in theory, set aside the requirement of further reparations payment under the Treaty of Versailles. (The conference of 1932 at Lausanne is not to be confused with that of ten years earlier wherein Turkish affairs were dealt with.) The meeting of an economic conference — and the conference of 1932 at Lausanne was economic in its aims quite as much as political — constitutes an admission, if not a declaration, that major economic problems are common to many countries.

An Economic Conference held at London in 1933 included sixty-seven nations. The purpose was to consider problems arising out of the world depression. Conflicting monetary and trade policies proved too difficult for reconciliation and nothing could be done. The London Wheat Conference followed in the same year to consider over-production, prices, and trade restrictions. An agreement under which export quotas were assigned to the various important countries that were producing a wheat surplus was entered into by twenty-one nations. In 1935 this agreement was renewed for a year, after which it was allowed to lapse.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1920 TO 1936

Following 1919 a number of international conferences were held and agreements were entered into. They were expressions of the general desire to avoid war, to solve economic and political problems, and to promote constructive cooperation. The comparative optimism of that period faded before the tensions of world-wide economic depression, the rising tide of nationalism, the armaments race, and the increasing use of armed force and aggression in place of helpful coöperation.

DATE	NAME	NATIONS PARTICIPATING	PROVISIONS OR CONTRIBUTIONS
1920	League of Nations (located at Geneva, first meeting in 1920)	Varying number; 42 nations in 1920; 60 in 1936; 46 in 1941	See pages 179-184, 192-195
1921	Permanent Court of International Justice (located at The Hague)	Member nations usually also members of the League of Nations	See pages 185-187
1921	International Labor Organization (located at Geneva)	Members of the League of Nations (automatically); also other nations	See pages 187 and 188
1921-1922	Washington Disarmament Conference; invited by the United States	United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, China, Belgium, Japan	The Treaty of Washington, or Naval Limitation Pact, provided for the limitation of the navies of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy Four-Power Treaty: Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan agreed to respect boundaries in Asia and to settle differences by peaceful processes Nine-Power Treaty: guaranteed the independence of China and the "Open Door"

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1920 TO 1936 (*Cont'd*)

DATE	NAME	NATIONS PARTICIPATING	PROVISIONS OR CONTRIBUTIONS
1925	Locarno Treaties	France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia	Guaranteed existing boundaries between Germany and France, and Germany and Belgium
1927	Geneva Disarmament Conference	Great Britain, the United States, Japan (France and Italy refused to participate)	Purpose — limitation on more classes of naval units. Result — failure, largely because of the position taken by the British
1928	Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact (Paris Peace Pact)	Signed by more than fifty nations	Agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy
1930	London Naval Disarmament Conference	United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, China, Belgium, and Japan	Great Britain, the United States, and Japan continued naval limitation at the ratio of 5-5-3.
1932	Lausanne Agreement	Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, Great Britain	After the Hoover Moratorium (1931) suspended reparations and war-debt payments for one year; for practical purposes set aside German reparations
1932-1934	Geneva Disarmament Conference	Called by the League of Nations	Failed to come to agreement on methods of armament reduction Rise of Hitler; a new spirit of defiance in Germany October, 1933, Germany gave notice of leaving the Conference.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1920 TO 1936 (*Cont'd*)

DATE	NAME	NATIONS PARTICIPATING	PROVISIONS OR CONTRIBUTIONS
1933	Four-Power Peace Pact	France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy	Plan made to maintain peace for ten years
1933	World Monetary and Economic Conference	66 nations represented	Question of stabilization of money blocked the work of the Conference. Meeting recognized that economic problems affect many different nations.
1933	London Wheat Conference	31 nations represented	Made the World Wheat Agreement, an arrangement to reduce wheat surplus and to raise the price of wheat.
1935-1936	London Naval Disarmament Conference (second)	Principal powers	Japanese delegation withdrew. Naval limitation by ratio given up. Great Britain, the United States, and France signed a naval treaty, the first two agreeing on parity between them.



EFFORTS FOR COOPERATION AND PEACE

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Name four or more unions for special purposes among three or more nations. Why were — and are — all such unions, however limited their purposes, helpful in a larger way?
2. What is the situation of an American author with reference to international copyright? Why is this so?
3. In a number of instances the United States has resorted to the arbitration of disputes with Great Britain. Mention one of these cases that did not pertain to boundaries. From your study of United States history recall and mention at least one case of arbitration that pertained to the control of land or sea areas. (In the Venezuela boundary case the arbitration finally was between Great Britain and Venezuela — not the United States.)
4. What was the Hague Tribunal? Who sponsored it?
5. Tell briefly about the origin of the League of Nations.
6. Tell something about the purposes and the structure of the League.
7. Mention two disputes which the League of Nations settled.
8. Mention two matters of utmost importance which were brought before the League, wherein the League failed to act effectively.
9. Why were many of the small nations enthusiastic in their support of the League?
10. Trace briefly the relations between Italy and Ethiopia since the 1870's.
11. Compare the jurisdiction — that is, the proper work — of the Hague Tribunal with that of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
12. How have Americans as individuals figured in connection with the World Court?
13. What is the present situation of the International Labor Organization?
14. What were two or more of the outstanding weaknesses — internal or external — of the League of Nations?
15. In view of the whole record, what good, if any, did the League of Nations accomplish?
16. Tell briefly about the Washington Arms Conference of 1921 to 1922, its purpose and its membership.
17. Tell briefly what the Conference actually accomplished, and the net result of its efforts in the long run.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING BASES

18. What was the Open Door policy?
19. Name three or four conferences of the 1920's, besides the Washington Arms Conference, and tell the purpose of each.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read in a work of reference or elsewhere the story of the use of sanctions against Italy in connection with Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure. Let two or more students report to the class on this matter.
2. In 1915 Japan made her "Twenty-one Demands" upon China. Let one student or more than one look up the story of these demands and report to the class.
3. Look up and read the Lytton Report on the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. Let one or two students tell the class about the findings and the recommendations of the League's commission.
4. Find out about the most recent meeting of the International Labor Organization, what it did and what it planned.
5. The United States, as they fought the Revolution, were a league, or confederation, of states rather than a single power. What held them together?
6. When did the United States become a completely unified nation in the view of all the states, in 1789 or in 1865? What observations on world organization are suggested by the history of our union of states?



» IV «

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT
OF WAR

War is honorable
In those who do their native rights maintain;
In those whose swords an iron barrier are
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak;
But is in those who draw the offensive blade
For added power or gain, sordid and despicable
As meanest office of the worldly churl.

JOANNA BAILLIE

CHAPTER 10

EUROPE BETWEEN WORLD WARS, 1918 TO 1939

*R*OUGHLY paralleling the ups and downs of the League of Nations (pages 177 to 195) were those of the individual nations, particularly in Europe, during the lifetime of the League. Reconstruction and peace were the commonly proclaimed objectives of the time. From 1919 to 1923 there was a period of post-war disorganization during which the nations were struggling to restore order after the wrecking experiences of the First World War. There followed a period of reorganization and coöperation during the years 1924 to 1930. The future looked reasonably promising during this period. Of course economic conditions steadily grew worse after the onset of world depression in 1929; but it took two years for the depression to reach its lowest depths. The end of the year 1930 is considered to mark the close of this second period. A third period, 1931 to 1939, was marked by economic difficulties and by political crises that terminated in the renewal of general warfare. The League of Nations, like an abandoned hulk, somehow kept afloat through the Second World War.

POST-WAR NATIONAL PROBLEMS

It will throw light on international developments if we here note briefly the crucial difficulties of Great Britain, France, Hungary, Austria, and Germany, following 1918.

GREAT BRITAIN

Following the Armistice, Great Britain assumed that she could pick up the threads of industry, commerce, and finance where they had been dropped in 1914. However, she found that financial leadership would have to be shared with New York. The United States, Japan, some of the British dominions, British India, and even China had stepped up their manufactures. None of these countries had borne so much of the brunt of warfare as had Great Britain. Those of them that were industrially advanced could export more goods than before, cutting into British markets; all were meeting their own needs more fully. World shipping had fallen largely into other hands. The demand for British coal fell off because of the increased use of oil for fuel and because the Germans, under reparations clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, were supplying great quantities of coal to France, Belgium, and Italy. The British had to face business stagnation, unemployment, and huge war debts.

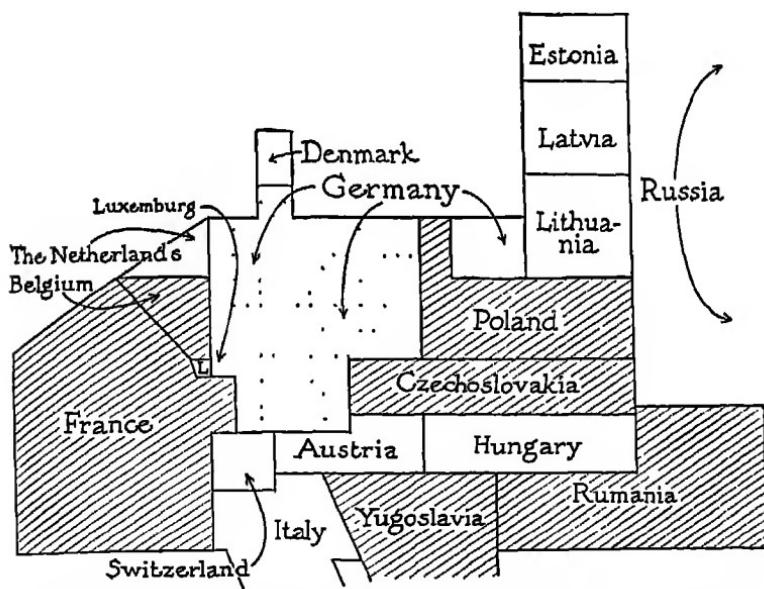
FRANCE

The World War of 1914 to 1918 left France with military supremacy, as it left Great Britain with naval supremacy, among the nations; and France, like Great Britain, profited territorially. But no war gains could cure the wounds of war. The whole northern part of France had been used as a battle-field, and for years this rich area was unproductive. German labor was applied directly to some of the work of reparation in France, but this was a drop in the bucket. Reparations payments were expected to compensate for the bulk of the damage; but French expectations and even German good intentions came to little.

In France, as in every other land, the cost of living had gone up by leaps while salaries failed to keep pace and many other sources of income dried up. France had financed the war not by boosting tax rates, but by selling bonds to her own people

and by borrowing money abroad. The national budget continued to be unbalanced, and the payment of interest on the bonded debt became increasingly difficult. Inflation and devaluation of the currency ran their course, as in other countries (pages 126, 127, and 213-215).

The principal goal of French foreign policy was security for France. The French insistence on a large army and on alliance with Poland and with the Little Entente — Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania — was for the purpose of assurance against Germany.



In this map-graph the diagonal shading indicates the alliances of France with Poland and the Little Entente — Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. To bolster her allies, France lent large sums of money to all of them at a time when she herself was having serious financial troubles. The purpose of France in her alliances on the continent was to keep Germany, Austria, and Hungary within the bounds set for them at Versailles. These French alliances amounted to little after the Germans succeeded in annexing Austria in 1938, to nothing at all after the Munich Accord in the same year.

HUNGARY

During the three years following the war Hungary suffered bitterly. By the Treaty of Trianon she lost many of her own people to Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, along with the lands on which they lived. The Hungarians, or Magyars, are a proud people with a long history, and they deeply resented their national humiliation. In the spring of 1919 the Communists under Bela Kun gained control of the government and were rapidly setting up their system. With the help of a Rumanian army, Admiral Nicholas Horthy and the conservatives of Hungary drove out Bela Kun. Horthy set up a kingless kingdom: since the Hapsburg family could not at the time be permitted to return, Horthy himself served as the head of the government under the title of regent. The new régime was considered a bulwark against the spread of Communism, and it was given support by the Great Powers.

AUSTRIA

Hungary's neighbor and late partner in the Dual Monarchy, Austria, was the most helpless country in central Europe. The great city of Vienna, shorn of her ancient political and economic leadership in central and southeastern Europe, was like a living head without a body. The remnant of Austria left with the capital was a region of scanty agricultural and mineral resources. Industry was paralyzed if not dead. The country was bankrupt and was saddled with a huge war-reparations obligation. Citizens starved while their leaders solicited help from abroad — and secured a measure of it.

GERMANY

The British blockade of Germany and her late allies was kept in force for months after the Armistice (page 67). Germany was about at the end of her resources when she accepted the Armistice; and the blockade made almost impossible conditions

worse. In the first days of the German revolution of 1918, a republic was proclaimed by a group of leftists — Socialists and others — who took matters into their own hands. Thereafter, in the city of Weimar, a constitution was drawn up and a republic was regularly established (pages 104 and 234).

The new government was confronted with the facts of defeat, financial collapse, and administrative chaos. Besides, it was harried by the agitation of extreme radicals who would not take into account the actualities of their country's helpless condition. Particularly violent was a group of Communists who called themselves Spartacists. The leaders of this group were arrested and murdered, and the rank and file were machine-gunned out of existence.

With reference to foreign affairs the great issue was whether to follow a policy of passive resistance to the Treaty of Versailles or a policy of coöperation, fulfilling the treaty obligations as far as possible. After considerable hesitation the "policy of fulfillment" was settled upon, and reparation payments were undertaken.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

The nations are a family whose members have often and for long periods got along badly with one another. As in an individual family, diseases among them are often contagious. This is true literally, as when the Spanish influenza, so-called, overspread much of the world between 1918 and 1922. It is true, somewhat figuratively, in economic, social, and political matters. Thus the problems of Germany, following the World War of 1914 to 1918, became — indeed, were from the beginning — the problems of all the rest of the world.

During the conflict there were persons who mouthed the formula "hang the Kaiser!" as if putting a knot on the Kaiser's neck would untie the complicated and hard international knot; but things were not so simple — they never are.

DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN THE REQUIREMENT
OF REPARATIONS

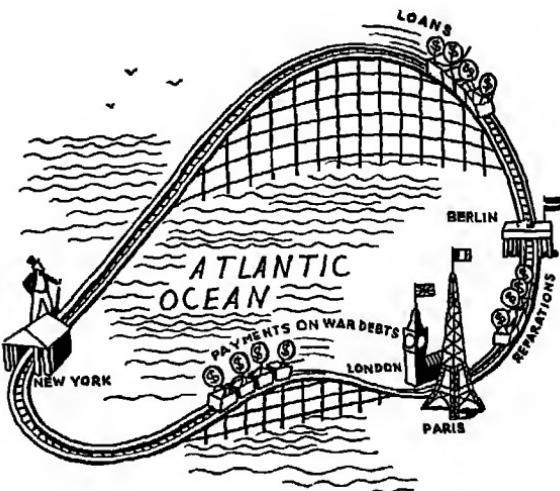
The reparations required of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles could have been made in gold, if Germany had been able to secure enough of it; or they could have been made in goods or in services directly rendered. Actually, limited reparations were made in each way.

It was said that there was not enough gold available in all the world to meet the total of Germany's reparations obligation (fixed at \$32,000,000,000 in 1921). Besides, according to the wisdom that prevailed among men of finance in the 1920's, a country's currency must have some gold backing; it was necessary for the financial health of the world to let the Germans keep part of the little gold they could find.

If the Germans were to make reparations payments in gold, it was to be expected that they would get the necessary gold through international trade. To this end they would have to export goods to far greater value than the value of their imports. And payment of reparations in goods and services would also have required vastly greater exports than imports on the part of Germany.

The recent enemies of Germany, her natural competitors in world markets, did not wish to have the Germans undersell them everywhere in order to establish an extremely favorable balance of trade out of which to pay reparations. Neither did they wish to have German goods distributed among themselves in direct payment. What, they asked, would in that case happen to their own industries? The exports of coal and manufactured products from Germany to meet reparations obligations, so far as carried out, did operate to dislocate industry in England and in other countries. A small dose of that kind of thing was enough.

For a time there was a solution of the reparations difficulty, happy for everybody except the Americans. The Germans



Uncle Sam as the operator of a financial roller coaster. A cartoon drawn by Bunji Tagawa for *Battles without Bullets*, a Headline Booklet of the Foreign Policy Association

borrowed money from citizens of this country and out of their borrowings made payments to the reparations-collecting nations. (Our country, under President Wilson's guidance, would have no share in reparations and would take none of the spoils of war.) After a while this source of funds began to dry up.

FRENCH OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR

In 1922 the German government failed in part to meet its reparations obligations. Raymond Poincaré, who had been the wartime president of France, was premier. Early in 1923 his government, with that of Belgium, undertook the occupation of the Ruhr Valley, rich industrial area in western Germany, as a penalty for Germany's delinquency. The British government strongly objected to the French procedure of occupying the Ruhr; but Mussolini, who had come into power in Italy, gave his approval. The occupation, carried out largely with French colonial troops, in a lesser way prefigured the unhappy

occupation of France by German troops which began in 1940. The result of the Ruhr adventure was disastrous for all the nations concerned (page 104). Partly because of the Ruhr blunder Poincaré lost the premiership. In August, 1925, during the premiership of Edouard Herriot, the occupying troops were withdrawn from the Ruhr.

The Ruhr affair caused vast losses to Germany, on top of her direct war losses. As a result German ability to continue reparations was obviously lessened.

PAYMENT PLANS AND DEFAULTS

Successive plans were made, under international auspices, to solve the problems connected with German reparations. In 1924 the Dawes Plan was put into operation. When that did not give desired results, the Young Plan was launched in 1929. These plans were named for the two American financiers who, in connection with international commissions, were concerned with framing them. In 1931, when world depression was nearing its worst, President Hoover sponsored the Hoover Moratorium, suspending reparations payments and "war debt" payments for one year. The agreement reached at the Lausanne Conference of 1932 (page 197), so far as actual practice was concerned, canceled reparations; but there was a proviso that the release of Germany from reparations payments to the late Allies depended on the release of the Allies from their so-called war debts to the United States.

The debts owed to the United States government had been incurred in great part after the Armistice of 1918; they had been scaled down; and they represented money and goods delivered to the Allies at their insistent solicitation, with promises to pay. Among the debtor nations were Germany, Austria, and Hungary, who had been enemy nations and to whom money had been lent after the war. Also among them were a number of countries that were the creations, or re-creations, of the Treaty of Versailles, like Poland.

Americans considered the attitude of the debtor peoples shabby; and the debtors bitterly referred to Uncle Sam as "Uncle Shylock." Great Britain, France, and Italy made partial payments for a time; in the end these and other nations simply defaulted, with little or no apology. Only Finland, which had asked and received its independence from Bolshevik Russia in 1918, continued to make payments through the years. Uncle Sam chose not to become a bill collector; but for a time he suffered seriously from disillusionment.

CURRENCY TROUBLES

The staggering expenditures of modern warfare always lead to currency inflation (page 130). Gold is hoarded by governments and by private persons; the paper currency ceases to be convertible into gold; and the value of paper money drops. Sometimes an old issue of paper money never regains its former value. Again, there may be gradual deflation during a post-war period; a government resumes the redemption of its paper money in gold on demand, and the paper goes back to par value. Thus it was with the old greenback currency of the United States during and after our Civil War. And so it was again in this country during the World War and the immediate post-war period. The European nations, and especially the defeated nations, suffered greatly from currency inflation and depreciation following the war of 1914 to 1918. Besides inflation and depreciation there was deliberate devaluation, the effect of which upon trade we considered on pages 126 and 127.

Great Britain, once dominant in the money market of the world, had her post-war financial pangs and ultimately dropped the gold standard. British notes ceased to be exchangeable for gold on demand.

By 1928 the French franc had fallen to about one fifth its pre-war values in terms of United States currency (page 126); and thereafter it depreciated further.

By the spring of 1921 the German mark, originally worth about twenty-four cents, was worth a little over one cent in the then existing gold currency of the United States. That was the time when Germany was required to make the first of its heavy reparations payments in gold. The country was drained of sound money and its equivalents (largely borrowed, at that). To supply a circulating medium the German printing presses were set to work, turning out paper marks. The more of these that were put into circulation, the less they were worth; and the less they were worth, the more of them were put into circulation. By the earlier part of 1924 paper marks had depreciated so fantastically that it took a billion-mark note to equal the value of the pre-war mark. Then a new mark, called the "reichsmark," was issued by Germany (page 130). So a reichsmark was assigned the value of a billion marks of the inflation issues, or the value of one pre-war mark.

The course of inflation was very much the same in Austria. There is a story of a man in Vienna who bought a house and furnished it before the war. He gave his note and mortgage at the bank, to cover the greater part of the purchase money. Following 1918 the mortgage fell due. The debtor looked over his furniture, picked out one chair that the family had never liked anyway, and sold it. The money he received in Austrian paper crowns amounted to enough to pay off the mortgage and interest. The bank had to receive the money, for it was legal tender; but the actual value of that paper was almost nothing. In Germany a man was reported to have paid off a heavy mortgage on real property with the proceeds of the sale of a single spool of thread. Many landed proprietors of the arrogant Junker class freed themselves thus of their obligations.

Such inflation destroyed the value of savings, insurance policies, and investments that thrifty citizens had made over long years. The process also wiped out the domestic debts of the governments concerned; but the incidental sufferings of

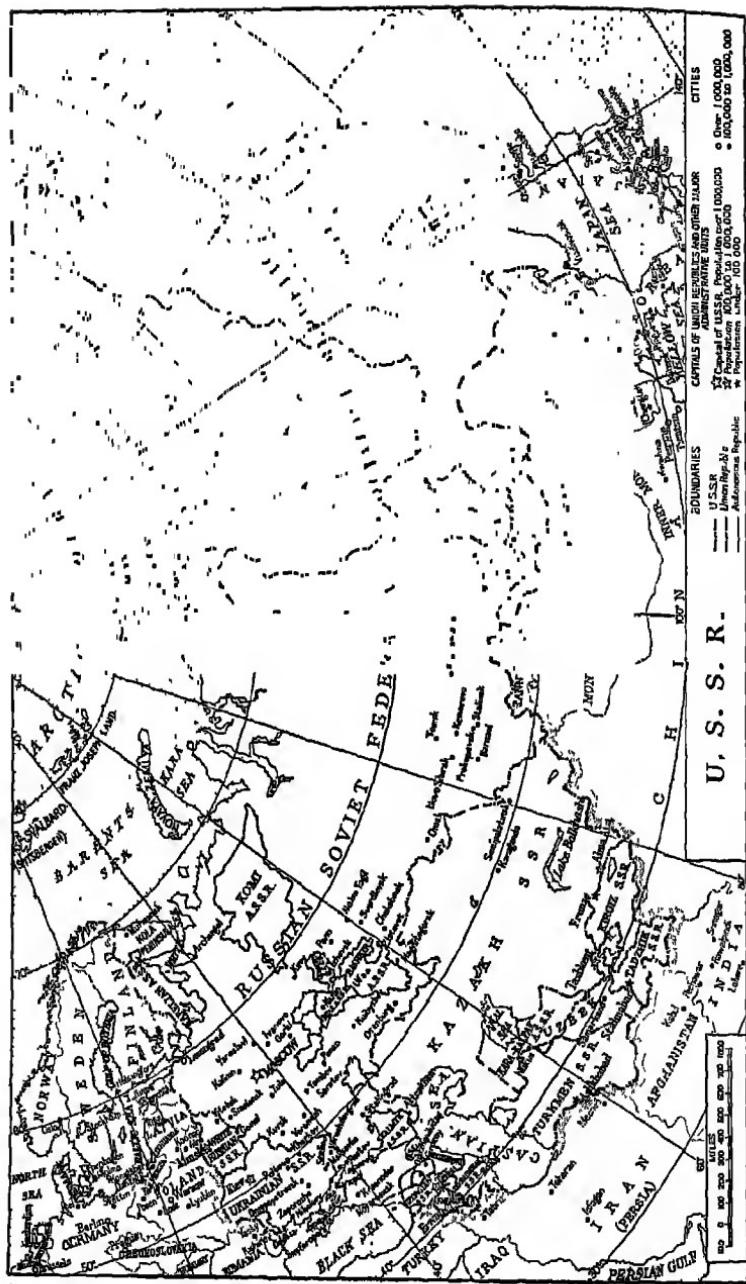
the people were extreme. Repudiation through inflation amounted to about the same thing as the outright repudiation and outlawing of all debts, public and private, by Bolshevik Russia.

POST-WAR DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEUTRAL NATIONS

The nations that had managed to stay neutral during 1914 to 1918 did not go unscathed. They also experienced difficulties in the post-war period. The purchases of the warring nations had taken all the goods that Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries could part with. As a result there was a tremendous increase in the cost of living in those lands. The people who had products to sell made great profits, while those with fixed incomes suffered. In Spain during the war years the farmers, for once, were really prosperous. With the fighting and the war boom over, the late neutral nations had to make many economic readjustments. In Spain the position of farmers and other workers became desperate. Increasing resentment among Spaniards against the indifferent and inept government led first to dictatorship under the monarchy and then, in 1931, to the overthrow of the monarchy. Although the Scandinavian nations and the Netherlands fared better, all were deeply affected by the change from a war to a peace economy.

THE FEAR OF COMMUNISM

The political thinking of the people of western Europe and of our own country, following the events in Russia during 1917 (page 97), was colored by fear of the possible spread of Communism. Communism, in its theory, seems to require the communization of the world. To that end it has, or has had, its international organizations: the First International, the Second, the Third International. The same widespread feeling for nationalism that proved the greatest stumbling block for the League of Nations operates against international Communism.



THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS IN 1939.

In its theory Communism is completely ruthless: overnight it would destroy all privilege whether of class or property, whether of capitalism, labor unionism, professionalism, or social position. No matter how much it might hurt anybody or anything now, Communism would summarily abolish all other régimes, not gradually supersede them. Naturally in countries where a measure of general well-being exists, where the people are not so downtrodden that they would welcome any change as for the better, only an extremely small part of the people favor Communism. Some of those favor it because they are converts to its theory — whatever that may be; some favor it because they are temperamentally revolutionists; some pretend to favor it because they enjoy shocking their neighbors and friends, because they are egoists who enjoy the attention that the pose of extremism gives them.

The connection between Communism and one brand and another of Socialism is not clear to most persons, perhaps not to anybody. It is worthy of note that the official title of the Russian government has never included the term "Communist"; the term used is officially "Socialist." Russia is called "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Russian Communists will sometimes explain that their country is not now Communistic but Socialistic; Communism, they say, is the ideal toward which the U. S. S. R. is heading. It seems, however, that Lenin and Trotsky at first did try to establish Communism in Russia in accordance with its pure theory (pages 97 and 98).

Russia was long hated and dreaded as the center and source of Communistic infection. In Hungary, as we have noted, Communists actually did take control of the country during 1919; and in Germany the Communists were for a time active, as well as in Italy and the Balkan countries. However, as economic conditions improved in one country and another the danger of Communism lessened, fear of Russian influence gradually decreased, and Russia came to be on better terms with other nations.

WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939

(4) POST-WAR DISORGANIZATION, 1919-1923

A period of unsettled conditions and sharp adjustments, the direct result of the war. All the nations, including those that had been neutral, suffered in the general let-down which followed the war boom.

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1919	Limited self-government for India.	The Peace Conference meets at Paris.	Weimar Assembly makes constitution.	Epidemic strikes.	of Bolsheviks consolidate hold on country.	Serious industrial and labor adjustments.	Fruitless expedition in southeastern Siberia (1918-1920).	Bela Kun, Communist, seizes control of Hungary. Admiral Horthy, conservative, in control later (July). Paderewski ministry in Poland.

1920	Industrial disturbances.	Railroad strike.	Industrial unrest. Reichstag elections.	Continued economic and political unrest.	Bolshevik defeat General Wrangel.	Harding elected President.	There is a semblance of parliamentary government (1920-1930).	Turkish-Greek War. Poles seize Vilna.
				Treaty of Rapallo between Italy and Yugoslavia, Free State of Fiume set up (formally annexed by Italy in 1924).	Invasion of Poland fails.	Return of AEF complete.	Railroads return to private management.	Treaty of Tri- anon be- tween the Allied Powers and Hungary.
1921	Anglo-Irish Treaty gives Irish Free State dominion status.	Aristide Briand is premier.	Allied Reparation Commission fixes reparations.	National Fascist party formed.	Famine conditions.	Trade restric- tions re- moved from Russia.	New Eco- nomic Pol- icy (NEP) inaugu- rated.	Washington Arms Con- ference (1921-1922).

WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (*Continued*)
 (A) POST-WAR DISORGANIZATION, 1919-1923

YEAR	GERMANY	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1922	Conservative Party wins the elections. Egypt is given nominal self-government.	Raymond Poincaré becomes premier.	Economic and political confusion. Inflation.	The Fascists march on Rome and Mussolini seizes control of the government. Default on reparation payments.	Commercial treaties with Germany and Italy.	Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law (high protective, with flexible features).	Shantung Province restored to China at the demand of the European powers. Continued depression in agriculture.	Civil war in China. Former German islands in west Pacific retained as mandates.

1923	Stanley Baldwin is Prime Minister. Naval base at Singapore is developed.	The Ruhr region occupied by French and Belgian troops.	New election law (plurality party given $\frac{2}{3}$ of seats). Height of inflation.	American relief commission completes its work. Fascist re-organization of the army.	Disastrous earthquake.	Primo de Rivera dictator in Spain under monarchy. Turkish Republic proclaimed.
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WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (*Continued*)
 (B) REORGANIZATION; EFFORTS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION, 1924-1930

YEAR	ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1924	Conservatives win elections. Baldwin again Prime Minister.	Edouard Herriot, Premier, adopts a more conciliatory tone in German relations. Uprisings in Morocco and Syria.	Reichstag election; increase in Nationalist and Communist votes. Evacuation of the Ruhr by French and Belgians.	Treaty with Yugoslavia over Fiume. Political murder of Matteotti.	Lenn dies; succeeded by Joseph Stalin as actual executive head of the government.	Marines withdrawn from Nicaragua. Johnson Quota Law (annual immigration of each nationality limited to 2% of those of that nationality or blood here in 1890).	Japanese Exclusion Act. Election of Calvin Coolidge	

				Death of Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Republic of China.
1925	Gold standard restored. Coal-mine operators subsidized, to prevent strikes over wage cuts.	Financial crises. Several ministerial changes.	Hindenburg elected President. Last French troops leave the Ruhr. Locarno treaties for the better assurance of peace.	Economic recovery. Non-aggression treaty with Turkey.
1926	General strike (May 3-12).	Franc at 25.19 to the dollar.	Admitted to League of Nations. Poincaré forms national (all-party) government; balances the budget.	Attempted assassination of Mussolini Neutrality treaty with Russia. Senate votes to join World Court, with reservations (not accepted by World Court)

WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (Continued)

(B) REORGANIZATION; EFFORTS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION, 1924-1930

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1927	Independence of Iraq recognized.	Trade treaty with Germany.	Progress in industrial expansion; formation of international trusts.	Ministry of Corporations created. New election laws; increased control by Mussolini.		President Coolidge suggests a disarmament conference to meet at Geneva; meets, fails.	Hirohito becomes Emperor Foreign Minister Shidehara; a more conciliatory foreign policy.	Stronger national government emerging in China.
1928	Continued depression.		New minimum wage law. Franc on gold stand-ard.	Law for a Fascist Grand Council.	Five-Year Plan.	Election of Herbert Hoover. As President-elect, Hoover makes tour of South America.	Signed Pact of Paris (as did most other nations).	New Chinese constitution. Chiang Kai-shek, President. New tariff treaties made by China with United States and other nations.

1929	Universal adult suffrage. Labor Party wins election.	André Tardieu becomes Premier. Ramsay MacDonald becomes Prime Minister.	Communist riots in Berlin. Young Plan further reduces reparation requirements.	Lateran Accord (the Pope and Mussolini).	Leon Trotsky exiled.	October, break on New York Stock Exchange; panic.	King Alexander I of Yugoslavia becomes dictator. Riots in Palestine.
1930	“Civil disobedience” movement in India, inspired by Gandhi.		Briand urges a United States of Europe.	Nazis and Communists make gains in Reichstag election.	Collective farms established.	Hawley-Smoot Tariff Law (high tariff, with flexible features).	Austria relieved of reparation payments. End of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in Spain. Civil war in China. Carol seizes throne in Rumania.

WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (Continued)

(C) ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISES; AGGRESSIONS, 1931-1939

With the deepening of world depression, a number of nations gave themselves up to dictatorship in the hope that the national problems would be more ably coped with. Failing confidence in the League of Nations and in cooperative action intensified the armaments race. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria marked the beginning of a series of armed aggressions that resulted eventually in general warfare.

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1931	National coalition Cabinet; MacDonald still Prime Minister.	Plan for a customs union with Austria given up under pressure.	Brueining, Chancellor.	Rapid industrialization under Five-Year Plan.	Hoover Moratorium announced.	Invasion of Manchuria.	Failure of Creditanstalt (Austrian bank)	King Alfonso XIII exiled; Spanish Republic established.

1932	Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa.	Briand resigns as Premier. Left-wing group gains in elections.	President Hindenburg re-elected. Nazi vote increased. Tardieu, Herriot, Paul Boncour, successive Premiers	Non-aggression treaties with France and Poland. Famine in some regions.	Lausanne Reparation Settlement, in effect makes invalid war debts to the United States Economic depression. Election of F. D. Roosevelt.	Puppet state of Manchukuo set up. Shanghai attacked. Attempt to force Chinese to end boycott of Japanese goods.	Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932-1934), called by League of Nations; nothing accomplished. Bolivia and Paraguay at war.	Insistence on "Open Door" for China. Refusal to recognize Manchukuo (Stimson Doctrine).
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WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (*Continued*)

(C) ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRIMES; AGGRESSIONS, 1931-1939

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1933	De Valera President of the Irish Free State.	Continued government deficits.	Reichstag fire. Nazi victory in Reichstag elections.	Four-Power Peace Pact signed at Rome (Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain).	Non-aggression treaties with Turkey and eight other nations.	Britain invited to discuss war debts. First inauguration of F.D. Roosevelt.	Withdraws from League of Nations. Military forces penetrate Jehol (south of Manchukuo). Truce with China.	Chancellor Dollfuss resists Nazi penetration in Austria; he crushes the Socialist Party.

1934	The Stavisky Affair (financial scandal).	<p>Hider's "blood purge."</p> <p>Hindenburg dies and Hitler becomes head of the state.</p> <p>Anti-Jewish decrees.</p>	<p>Reciprocal tariff with Cuba.</p> <p>Platt Amendment abrogated.</p> <p>Dollar de-valued.</p> <p>Tydings-McDuffie Law: a Philippine Commonwealth to be followed after ten years by an independent Philippine government.</p>	<p>Dolfuss of Austria assassinated by Nazis, who fail to seize Austria.</p> <p>Schuschnigg becomes Chancellor.</p>
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WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (*Continued*)

(C) ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISES; AGGRESSIONS, 1931-1939

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1935	Silver jubilee of King George V. Stanley Baldwin again Prime Minister	Pierre Laval Premier. Economic depression.	Saar returns to German rule. Conquest of Ethiopia undertaken.	Compulsory military service.	Seventh World Communist Party Congress in Moscow.	Constitution for the Philippine Commonwealth.	Chahar in North China seized.	Death of Marshal Pilsudski, dictator of Poland.
1936	Edward VIII succeeds to throne; abdicates. George VI becomes King.	Popular Front government, with Leon Blum as Premier	German troops occupy Rhineland.	Aid given to rebels in Spanish Civil War.	New Constitution adopted.	President Roosevelt attends Inter-American Congress for the maintenance of	Signs Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany. Turkey fortifies the Dardanelles.	Spanish Civil War.

1936 (cont.)	Britain neutr- al with reference to the Spanish Civil War (1936- 1939).	munitions manufac- ture. Anti-Comin- tern Pact entered into with Japan.	Four-Year Plan to make Ger- many eco- nomically self-suffi- cient.	peace, at Buenos Aires.	progressive statesmen assassinated.
1937	Chamberlain becomes Prime Minister.	German penetration of Morocco checked. Chautemps Premier.	Rome-Berlin- Tokyo Axis.	Anti-Com- intern Pact entered into with Germany and Japan.	Attack on United States vessel Panay. New neu- trality law. In a speech at Chicago President Roosevelt advocates quarantine of aggressor nations.

WORLD EVENTS, 1919-1939 (*Continued*)

(C) ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISES; AGGRESSIONS, 1931-1939

YEAR	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES	JAPAN	OTHER NATIONS
1938	The Munich Accord; Prime Minister Chamberlain announces "peace in our time."	Edouard Daladier Premier.	Austria annexed in March.	Agrees to the Munich Accord.	The Sudetenland taken from Czechoslovakia.	First session of the Supreme Soviet elected under the new constitution.	Eighth International Conference of American States is held at Lima.	Mexico expropriates American and British oil properties. Tokyo announces that it will not recognize "Open Door" in East Asia.

1939	War declared against Germany on September 3. (See page 279.)	War declared against Germany on September 3.	In March occupation of remainder of Czechoslovakia (except eastern part occupied by Hungary).	Scizes Albania Declares neutrality in war of Germany with Poland.	Undeclared war with Japan on Manchukuan border. Russo-German Pact.	In July, Japan gives six months' notice for abrogation of the American-Japanese trade treaty of 1911.	Chinese war continues. End of warfare with Russia along Manchu-kuan border.	The Franco dictatorship in control in Spain.
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1939 and after. World warfare. See pages 309-318.

GERMANY'S RETURN TO POWER

A numerous and intelligent and energetic people, somehow advantageously located, may suffer frightful attacks from pestilence, as in other times, and from war, but it will "come back" again and again to influence and to power. It has been thus repeatedly with the Germans and the French; to a less degree it has been so with the English, who, however, never suffered such calamities at home as were suffered by the Germans and the French. The Germans came back after slaughter by the Romans, after the Thirty Years' War (1618 to 1648), and after Napoleon's triumph over them. It should not have been surprising that they came back after 1918. We hope that they will not come back in wrath and power after the crushing overthrow that they suffered in 1945. Our people and our leaders need to take thought, that they may deal wisely and firmly and withal honestly and justly, having rewon the victory of 1918. Some of the mistakes of the past may be avoided if we consider well the record of the past.

TWO PRESIDENTS

When the German National Assembly of 1919 had framed the Weimar Constitution for the new German Republic, Friedrich Ebert, a rather conservative Socialist, was elected president. A sensible man and a sincere patriot, a man above party, he remained in office until his death in 1925. He was succeeded by Paul von Hindenburg, who had been the principal commander of the German armies during the war of 1914 to 1918. Hindenburg came to the office of president with immense prestige. In an extremely difficult position he managed well for a time; but advanced age was against him, and with ebbing physical strength he weakened in decision. A serious loss came to Germany and the world when Gustav Stresemann, once chancellor and again foreign minister under Ebert and under Hindenburg, died in 1929. Stresemann followed the way of

honor in his dealings with foreign nations, as did Aristide Briand of France, with whom he collaborated in securing the Locarno agreements (page 197).

THE RISE OF HITLER

Adolf Hitler, an Austrian who had served with the Germans during the War of 1914 to 1918 and had been made a corporal, became a political agitator following the war. He devised a gospel of his own and preached it: Germany had not really lost the war; Germany must wipe out the stain of the war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles, and the whole treaty must be scrapped; Germany must be restored to the position of a first-rate power; Jews must be persecuted; Communism must be extirpated everywhere; any means to the advancement of the desired ends should be used. Hitler built up a fanatical personal following.

Prematurely trying to seize power in the Munich Beer-Hall *Putsch* (coup d'état), Hitler was arrested and imprisoned in 1923. In prison he wrote the book, *Mein Kampf*, which has been called "the Bible of the Nazis." Released from prison in 1924, he emerged a hero to many misguided young Germans. He formed his own National Socialist party, called the Nazi party, from the German pronunciation of the word *National*. Within the party he organized a body of uniformed stalwarts whom he called Storm Troopers. These constituted something very like a private army.

By promising everything, by using men and groups and then betraying them, by posing as the coming savior of the country, Hitler so far advanced himself that he became a candidate for the presidency when Hindenburg stood for re-election in 1932; but the old general won.

With cunning surpassed only by his unscrupulousness, Hitler secured the support, financial and social and political, of the industrial leaders of Germany. The bait to these men was the control by Hitler, in their interest, of German labor. The

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

industrialists and others prevailed upon President Hindenburg to make Hitler chancellor of the Reich, the German equivalent of prime minister. This was at the beginning of 1933. Presently Hitler dominated Hindenburg and proceeded to strip the German Reichstag, or Parliament, of its powers.

His party now being in effective control of affairs, Hitler moved to crush all possible opponents within the party, any remaining persons who might raise their voices against his. On June 30, 1934, he launched his surprise "blood purge." Hitler himself operating in Munich and his lieutenant, Goering, operating in Berlin, on that occasion caused many persons to be murdered. The killers said that they slew seventy-seven; but it is thought that the number of victims ran into the hundreds and possibly into the thousands. Among those put to death were a former chancellor, and Captain Ernest Roehm, friend and ally of Hitler throughout his rise to power.

In the purge Goering's men failed to find Franz von Papen, an ex-chancellor of dubious record; they murdered two of Von Papen's secretaries. Afterward Hitler used this same Von Papen as a diplomat in Austria and in Turkey.

On his way up Hitler pleaded, sometimes in tears, to win followers. Once on top, he ruled at home by terror and got his way abroad by deceit varied with bullying.

Hindenburg died two months after the "blood purge." Thereupon Hitler became the absolute dictator of Germany, calling himself *Reichsführer*, or simply *Führer*. This means "leader of the realm," or "leader." (The word *Führer* is pronounced very much like the English word "fearer.")

The Nazi régime was marked from the beginning by a ferocious persecution of religious and intellectual elements, comparable with the persecution of the Christians during the reign of Nero. In supreme power, Hitler trampled on the rights of labor and capital alike; he lowered the status of women; he degraded learning and made truth a laughingstock; he enslaved most of the peoples of Europe, the Germans included.

THE SAAR VALLEY AND THE RHINELAND

In 1935 Hitler secured the first restoration of territory to Germany. The Saar Valley, a small district rich in coal, was ruled by a special League Commission, with the French working the coal and iron mines. Under the auspices of the League of Nations a vote was held in the Saar to decide whether the region was to stay with the League or France or Germany, and the result was overwhelmingly in favor of Germany. Doubtless the majority vote would in any case have been for Germany; but Hitler's Nazis had moved in and applied persuasion and pressure to the Saarlanders to influence their votes.

In March, 1936, while Great Britain and France were still uneasy over the aggression of Italy in Ethiopia (page 182), Hitler suddenly sent armed forces into the region west of the Rhine River. Under the terms of the Versailles and Locarno treaties this German territory, called the Rhineland, was to be kept permanently demilitarized. Hitler's troops remained in the territory, and the Germans proceeded to build tremendously strong continuous fortifications, called the Siegfried Line, following the French-German boundary.

It must be admitted that the Rhineland belonged to Germany, and it is arguable that it was unjust to keep the German side of the borderland demilitarized while the Belgian and French borders bristled with guns. However, the Locarno pledge (page 197), which had stabilized the western European situation for ten years, was contemptuously violated by Germany, which had voluntarily signed it and received benefits under it. When international agreements made in apparent good faith can be thus thrown overboard without notice, there is very little to guarantee a stable, peaceful world. Great Britain and France wrote sharp notes of protest to Germany concerning the remilitarization of the Rhineland, but those countries *did* nothing. Hitler's act remained a triumph for the Nazis and created a source of continual uneasiness for the rest of Europe.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In July, 1936, civil war broke out in Spain. The government, which had been elected the previous February, was Socialistic in character. The rebels, under the principal leadership of General Francisco Franco, were largely Fascist in character. However, among the mainstays of their forces were Moorish troops whom Franco brought into Spain from Spanish Morocco. These Mohammedans had precious little interest in the ideological differences that might prevail among Spaniards.

The Popular Front government of France, which was based on a working agreement among left-wing parties, was sympathetic to the governing Socialistic group in Spain. But Premier Leon Blum feared criticism and opposition at home, and instead of officially aiding the authorized Spanish government he promoted an embargo to apply to both sides in Spain. Russia sided with the Spanish government, and contrived to send it some aid. Germany and Italy, or rather Hitler and Mussolini, favored Franco. At first they sent troops and supplies to Franco under a pretense of secrecy. Later they openly sent strong forces with abundant equipment.

Great Britain was in a difficult position: if Franco and Hitler and Mussolini won in Spain, that would mean the extension of Italian and German influence; and if the Socialistic Spanish republic won, that would hardly please the reactionary elements in Great Britain. Our own government also straddled, and the net results of the things it did and of those it did not do seem to have been more favorable to Franco than to the Spanish republic.

Under the influence of Great Britain, and of France to a less degree, the League of Nations adopted a policy of non-intervention in Spain.

The Spanish, Italian, and German dictators' forces won in Spain, after almost three years of warfare that was at once barbarous and modern.

BERLIN, ROME, AND TOKYO IN AGREEMENT

In October of 1936 Germany and Italy formed an entente which came to be called the Rome-Berlin Axis; and they entered into an anti-Russian agreement, which was called anti-Communist. In 1937 Germany, Japan, and Italy entered into their Anti-Comintern Pact, directed against Soviet Russia — and against all the rest of the world, for that matter.

The term "Axis" was first used by Mussolini in a speech at Milan on November 1, 1936. Referring to the arrangement (not a formal treaty) which he had just made with Hitler, he said: "This Berlin-Rome protocol is not a barrier; it is rather an axis around which all European states animated by a desire for peace may collaborate on troubles." The designation "Anti-Comintern" is short for "Anti-Communist International." The Anti-Comintern Pact was really anti-Russian, for Moscow was the center of a Communist organization that called itself the Third International.

By the end of 1936 the old armaments race that had helped to bring on war in 1914 was revived without limitation. All who would might enter and do their best — or worst. With the rise of Hitler in 1933 Germany began to rearm rapidly — at first secretly because of prohibitions in the Treaty of Versailles, afterward openly. Russia increased her armaments to provide protection against both Japan and Germany. Early in 1937 a Conservative government in Great Britain put through the largest peacetime appropriation for armaments to that date.

THE GERMAN ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA

Austria after 1919 (and Hungary too) was the subject of bitter rivalry for influence or control, as between Germany and Italy; France also had her solicitude in this quarter. Financial aid was extended to Austria by the United States; and Americans, under the direction of Herbert Hoover, undertook the feeding of Austrians in the days of Austrian destitution immediately following the war of 1914 to 1918. The League

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

of Nations and France and Czechoslovakia also made loans to Austria in her days of extreme trial.

Austrian Nazis made an unsuccessful *putsch* in Vienna late in 1934. They murdered the chancellor of the country, Engelbert Dollfuss, and for their efforts those directly concerned in the assassination were hanged. The *putsch* was managed—or mismanaged—in the interest of Hitler. Because it failed he pretended that he had had no concern in the matter.

In 1938, while Mussolini was still much occupied in Spain, Hitler once more turned his attention to Austria. His procedure was the same as that which he followed later with Czechoslovakia, Danzig, and Memel. Local discontent was fanned by Nazi agents, for the most part native "fifth columnists"; pretexts were made for open interference in local affairs by Germany; the possibility of outside aid for the victim was eliminated by one device or another; when conquest had been practically assured by undercover work, Hitler moved openly to complete his work of aggression.

Early in 1938 Hitler demanded that Schuschnigg, the Austrian chancellor, admit several Austrian Nazis to the Cabinet. When this was done Nazi agitation in Austria became more intense than before. A plebiscite was proclaimed by Schuschnigg to be held on March 13, the people to vote on the issue of Austrian independence or annexation to Germany. On March 12 German troops marched, or rather motored, into the country, occupied Vienna, and took over the government. On March 13 Hitler declared Austria to be a part of the German Reich. Austria lost the name she had borne for centuries—*Oestreich*, the Realm of Austria. Instead she went back to a still more ancient name—*Ostmark*, the Eastern March.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The republic of Czechoslovakia was one of the "succession states," formed largely from territories of the broken-up Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It was made up of ancient

Bohemia, centuries earlier an important kingdom; Moravia; Slovakia; part of Silesia; and an area called the Carpatho-Ukraine. The Bohemians and Moravians are really one people. They are called Czechs, and they have had much in common, historically. Both were associated with Austria in the Austrian Empire. The Slovaks are closely related to the Czechs, their language differing but little from Czechish, or Bohemian; but under the Dual Monarchy they were associated with the Kingdom of Hungary and not with Austria and their Czechish kin. Old Bohemia was the core of Czechoslovakia. Within the outer rim of Bohemia, at the northwestern end of the new state, and particularly in the area of the Sudeten Mountains, lived somewhat more than three million Germans. Some of these were of Czechish descent, at least in part; but they spoke German and they favored Germanism. Other Sudetenlanders seemed to be at once German and Czechish, just as many Alsatians seemed to be both German and French.

Following 1919, Czechoslovakia enjoyed a liberal representative government under the leadership of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk and Dr. Eduard Beneš. It was the most stable and most prosperous of the lesser nations of Europe. With the German annexation of Austria the position of Czechoslovakia became most insecure, because German territory now surrounded the entire western half of the nation. The Skoda works, one of the large munitions plants of the world, famed for the quality of the guns it produced, would be very valuable to Germany, as would the many other industries, the mineral resources, and the fine farm land of the country.

Hitler did not stay his hand long. Konrad Henlein, a Sudetenlander whose own mother was a Czech, at first agitated bitterly for greater local German control in areas where the German element was in the majority. Presently he agitated for the separation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and for its union with Germany. The Nazi element became unruly in Czechoslovakia and Hitler moved large bodies of German troops

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to the borders of the country. Threatened from within and without, the Czechoslovak government mobilized its army.

France was bound by its alliance with the Little Entente to stand by Czechoslovakia; and Britain was pledged to support France. Italy, in the Rome-Berlin Axis, would stand by Germany. In September of 1938 the crisis came and was dealt with in the Munich Accord. Here Hitler, Mussolini, Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain, and Premier Edouard Daladier of France agreed upon the immediate annexation of the German-speaking areas of Czechoslovakia to Germany. For the moment Hitler took the part of the country that he had specified, with minor additions. "I have no further territorial designs in Europe," he announced. Poland asked for the Teschen area, mostly Polish in population; and Hungary asked for a strip along the southern border of Czechoslovakia. Through the grace of Hitler, the demands of these two nations were met. The remnants of Czechoslovakia, with some ten million people, continued as a nation until the following March (1939). Then Hitler moved troops into Prague and occupied the rest of the nation with the exception of the eastern end, Carpatho-Ukraine, which was taken over by Hungary, that country itself being really a vassal of Germany.

MEMEL AND DANZIG

The Memel district, with the port of Memel on the Baltic, formed the northeasternmost corner of the German Empire under Kaiser Wilhelm II. This district was detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and was placed under the direction of the League of Nations. In 1923 Lithuania seized the Memel district, and the League of Nations allowed Lithuania to hold it under conditions that it imposed. In March of 1939 Hitler retook Memel for Germany, Lithuania out of fear consenting to his act.

By the Treaty of Versailles the German city of Danzig, at the head of the Polish Corridor, was to be a free city under the con-

trol of a League of Nations commission. Much friction resulted between the German Danzigers and the Polish and League authorities; also between Germany and Poland. Upon the rise of Hitler the majority of the people in the city fell under the spell of Nazi propaganda; the local Nazis got control of the city government; Hitler declared that Danzig must be reunited with Germany. The demand for Danzig and for other concessions aroused the Poles, the British, and the French. On September 1, 1939, Hitler proclaimed that Danzig was once more a part of Germany; in the early hours of that same day he had sent his armies into Poland to destroy it; and once more the world had the carnival of death called war.

WHY ANOTHER GENERAL WAR CAME

The outbreak of warfare in Europe in 1914 surprised as well as shocked the great majority of the American people; but not so in 1939. The nations had experienced a series of crises and war scares. People everywhere were following world news, conveyed within the hour of occurrence by radio transmission — not in existence in 1914. In Europe especially people were under strain, clinging nervously to the vestiges of a hope for peace. Many felt sure that war was inevitable and imminent. National policies seemed to assure war, while leaders in peace-desiring nations made frantic efforts to postpone the evil day. The causes of war in 1939 have been well summarized by Walter Millis:¹

Certainly in the spring of 1939 there was no European people who wanted war; and it seems almost as certain that there was no national leader — not even Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin — who wanted another great war like that of 1914.

And yet another great war came. It did not come for any one "reason," but because of everything which had gone before. It came because it turned out that — after all the

¹ Millis, Walter, *Why Europe Fights*, pages 247-249. William Morrow & Co., Inc., New York; 1940

fears and hatreds and violencees of the years since 1918, after all the vacillations and uncertainties of the democratic powers and all the brutal but successful vigor of the dictators, after all the piling up of armaments, all the shrieking insults and half truths and fantastic theories of propaganda machines, and all the familiarity with the idea of war which these things left behind them — after all this, there was simply no way in which the knobblly building blocks of the European nations could be put together into a stable and working system without a war. It came, very largely because Adolf Hitler was the kind of man he was, and because he thought and acted as he did. It came because of what he had done, because of the kind of ideas in which he believed — and in which he had taught the German people — or at least his Nazi party dictatorship — to believe. From beginning to end, he was the most active part; he was the man who, more than any other, did dangerous things when they might have been left undone, who failed to do the reasonable and conciliatory things when he might have done them, who took risks and forced the pace and who must bear the greatest responsibility in any ordinary meaning of the word.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The Treaty of Versailles was hailed as the peace of Versailles. Now we look upon it as the truce of Versailles. Why the change in point of view?
2. What were some of the economic difficulties of Great Britain after 1918?
3. France wished for security and for reparations, following the World War of 1914 to 1918. Did she get both these, or either of them?
4. Compare the lot of Hungary with that of Austria, under the Treaty of Versailles.
5. For what famous city was the German Republic named? Under what circumstances did that republic come into existence? Upon what policy with reference to the Treaty of Versailles did the leaders of the republic decide?
6. Mention two or more practical difficulties that lay in the way of Germany's fulfillment of the reparation provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

7. What is the character of the Ruhr region? What did the French do there in 1923, and why? What was the attitude of Great Britain? of Italy?
8. What was the long-run result of the French action in the Ruhr? Why?
9. Who was "Uncle Shylock," and what country was his most honest customer? What is the present situation of that country?
10. What method was resorted to by the Bolsheviks to get rid of the debts of Czarist Russia?
11. How did Germany get rid of most of her national debt, aside from obligations under the Treaty of Versailles? Compare the net result in Germany with the net result in Russia.
12. Define the term "inflation" as it refers to currency. Define "devaluation."
13. In what way, if at all, did our country gain from the World War of 1914 to 1918? Give reason, or reasons, for your answer.
14. The small neutrals in Europe had business booms during the years 1914 to 1918. Were those countries actually benefited by the war? Give a reason for your answer.
15. Which one of the "succession states" in central Europe was most prosperous and most progressive? Tell why this was so.
16. Tell briefly about the attitude of other nations toward Soviet Russia until 1939.
17. Name the two presidents of the German Republic, and tell a little about each.
18. Very briefly, trace the career of Adolf Hitler.
19. Why was the remilitarization of the Rhineland tremendously significant?
20. The Balkan warfare of 1912 and 1913 was the curtain raiser for the World War of 1914 to 1918. What was the curtain raiser for the Second World War? Why do you answer thus?
21. What was the Popular Front government? Who headed it? What has become of him?
22. Tell briefly about the Anti-Comintern Pact.
23. Mention five annexations or reannexations of territory to Germany which were accomplished peaceably during the Hitler régime.
24. What was to be said in favor of the Munich Accord in countries other than Germany?
25. What made the Munich Accord disastrous?

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

26. Identify each of the following: Stresemann, Daladier, Horthy, Chamberlain, Lenin, Beneš, Bela Kun, Henlein.
27. Briefly trace the steps that led from Munich to the beginning of the Second World War.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Science had begun to give mankind the answers to many age-old economic questions — and especially those relating to food supply, power, and industrial materials — when the nations became involved in ruinous warfare in 1914. You may know some of these answers. Find out others. What further answers may we reasonably expect? Recent works on science designed for general readers carry information pertinent to this activity.
2. In *Business Week* for December 27, 1941, there is an editorial on page 68 entitled "The Trend." If you have access to the files of this magazine, read the whole editorial. The writer points out that after 1918, when many nations owed us money, we still were bent on selling to them more than we would buy of them. He concludes:

Nation after nation tried to get hold of dollars to pay its debt to the United States, but dollars were hard to get, because, instead of importing goods and services, we were actually exporting, so instead of making dollars available, the United States, in its trade policy, was making dollars scarcer

And after this war we shall face the same dilemma — only more so. The scramble for dollars will be more intensified than ever before. And that means that the problem of international post-war readjustment is squarely up to the United States, as the world's greatest creditor. Will we, as a nation, accept the economic consequences of our financial pre-eminence? Will we be willing to import more goods, and perhaps export less? Will we be willing to reduce our tariffs, instead of raising them? Will we, in short, be a creditor nation in fact as well as balance sheet?

Those are questions which ultimately we shall have to answer when sitting around a peace table. For, unless they are answered — and satisfactorily — there will be no peace.

Consider in class the points raised in the passage just quoted.

CHAPTER 11

NEW-WORLD AND EAST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

*G*EORGE WASHINGTON, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, our first three Presidents, by words and acts did their best to keep our country from becoming a party to the quarrels and wars of Europe. Washington's Presidency was embittered for him by the contentions of those who favored Great Britain or France in the war then raging between those two countries. In John Adams's Presidency limited warfare at sea was forced upon us by the French, following the X Y Z Affair. Under our fourth President, James Madison, we were in part forced into the War of 1812 with Great Britain, and in part we blundered into that war. Isolation, America first, or whatever else it may be called, was long an ideal promoted by many persons, but it has never been attained by this country.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Under our fifth President, James Monroe, we announced to the world a policy of America for Americans, the New World for its own peoples — the Monroe Doctrine. It is said that John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, wrote out the policy, or doctrine, following a British hint that something of the kind might be helpful. Monroe embodied it in his annual message to Congress in 1823.

THE WORLD SITUATION IN 1823

All the countries of the vast colonial empire of Spain in the New World, except Cuba and Puerto Rico, had established their independence by 1823. In Europe the principal re-

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

actionary governments, restored or strengthened after the fall of Napoleon, were allied (page 45). There was more than a hint that several of them might get together to reduce the Spanish-American countries once more to a colonial condition. Spain, presumably, was to get back some of her former colonies, while others of those colonies would go to Spain's helpers.

Neither Great Britain nor this country was pleased at the prospect. Spain had kept her several colonies pretty tightly closed to commerce with countries other than Spain. The English-speaking peoples wished to keep the Latin-American markets open. Besides, both Great Britain, for the safety of her own New World colonies, and the United States, for their own safety, were not willing to see continental European power extended over any part of the American continents. There was much of common interest between Great Britain and the United States, then so recently at war with each other; and that fact helps to explain how our young and not-too-powerful republic could lay down to the nations a new law of its own devising — the Monroe Doctrine.

It is worth noting that in 1823 the Russians were making moves to extend their North American colony (now Alaska) southward along the Pacific coast. Monroe had that fact in mind, among others, when he framed his message.

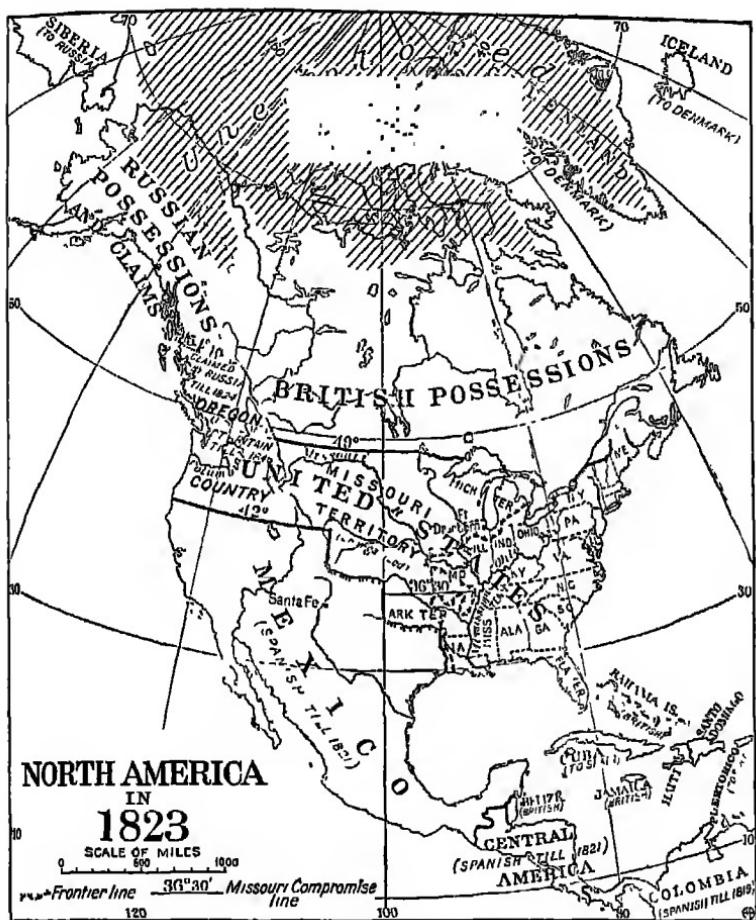
THE ESSENTIALS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Tons of publications, old and new, deal with the Monroe Doctrine and its meaning. But the most light on the subject can be gained in the least time by considering some of the actual words that were contained in Monroe's message:

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence.

With the movements in this hemisphere we are of neces-

NEW-WORLD AND EAST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



When President Monroe announced his "doctrine," Spain had not yet recognized the independence of her former colonies on the continents of North America and South America. Our claims between the 42nd parallel and 51° 10' overlapped claims of Great Britain and Russia; and the Maine boundary had not been settled. The whole of our present Southwest was still a part of Mexico.

sity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . .

We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere.

But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States . . .

. . . the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

The quoted words are clear enough; they have been well understood abroad; and there have been few attempts to violate the principles set forth. The most notable of those attempts came while the United States were engaged in their Civil War. Then the French turned Mexico into an empire, making an Austrian archduke emperor as Maximilian I. Shortly after the Civil War our government placed a large army of veterans along the Rio Grande, menacing the French in Mexico. Napoleon III thereupon withdrew his forces from the country. Maximilian stayed on, only to be captured and shot by the Mexicans.

The Monroe Doctrine is part of our national thinking and background. In international law it is taken into account as a special rule, and it is recognized in the League of Nations Covenant. While the United States remain a first-class power there can be little danger that any part of the New World will

NEW-WORLD AND EAST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

have its independence impaired or its liberties decreased by the action of any Old World power; the core of the Monroe Doctrine will not be touched.

THE QUESTION OF A CONVERSE DOCTRINE

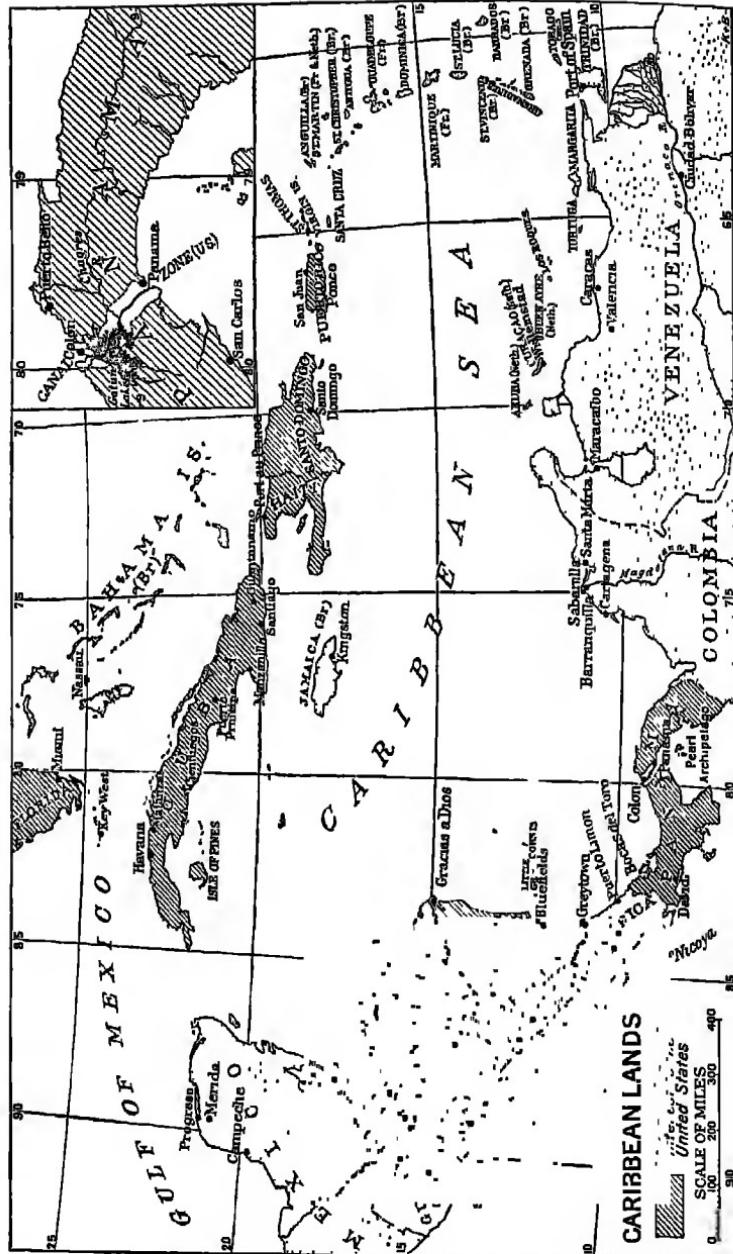
If Europe must stay out of America, does it not follow that America ought to stay out of Europe? Until 1914 Europeans seemed so to hold, as did most Americans. Since 1914 invitations from partisans on the other side of the Atlantic, for us to come over there, have been strong on occasion.

Again, should the United States stay out of Asia? The Japanese said so in the '20's and '30's, though time was when they even welcomed our concern about Asiatic affairs. The Japanese said that they had a "Monroe Doctrine" of their own for eastern Asia. But their policy of ruthless aggression against China and every other land that happened to be weak, applied to the limit at every opportunity, was a thing quite different from our Monroe Doctrine.

OBSERVANCE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE BY THE UNITED STATES

Before the American Civil War our government was itself aggressive at times toward Latin-American countries. The reason lay partly in the fact that our slave states desired expansion southward and southwestward to increase the wealth and the political influence of their section. The Texas annexation and the Mexican War resulted in immense accessions of territory; and there were designs, never carried out by the government, on Cuba and on other lands.

Following the Civil War our government rather consistently kept its own hands out of Latin-American affairs, the while it discouraged Old World meddling. In 1895 President Grover Cleveland successfully insisted upon arbitration for a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, when Great Britain had been about to enforce her will upon Venezuela by military action.



All the European possessions in and around the Caribbean Sea have in the past been actual or potential menaces to one and another of the American republics

The Spanish-American War made the United States a colonial power. On the eve of that war, by treaty with the Hawaiian government, we annexed the Hawaiian Islands. As a result of the war, in the Western Hemisphere we annexed Puerto Rico as a territory, and we became greatly concerned in the affairs of Cuba; in the Eastern Hemisphere we took over the Philippine Islands. The incidents and accidents of war made us not only a colonial power but a world power.

From the Presidency of James Monroe to that of William McKinley we meddled very little in the internal affairs of any of the other republics of the New World. With Theodore Roosevelt as President (1901 to 1909), we entered upon a new application of the Monroe Doctrine. In addition to keeping Old World trespassers away from the weaker American republics, we began to act as their guardians. Our government undertook the financial guidance of different Latin-American states and even the policing of some of them. These things we did largely to prevent Old World meddling in the New World. The Mexican adventure of France in the 1860's had begun in a bill-collecting expedition made by British and French naval units. Imperialistic and aggressive powers in the nineteenth century commonly used force to compel payments of international debts owed by small nations. Europe, in a way, gave us the choice of compelling Latin-American debtor countries to put their houses in order or else of letting Europe do it. Theodore Roosevelt preferred to have the United States act.

ACTION BEYOND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

In time we took a large measure of control in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua.

We made easy the revolt of Panama from Colombia in 1903 and thereafter built the Panama Canal. Our interest southward became ever more tangible.

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

In 1914 our navy took and held Vera Cruz, in Mexico, for a time. This it did at President Woodrow Wilson's direction, following a difficulty between Mexicans and a party of American marines at Tampico. In 1916 President Wilson sent forces under General John J. Pershing into northern Mexico. Pershing's errand was to capture the Mexican chieftain, Francisco Villa, who was thought to be responsible for a raid of bandits from Mexico into United States territory at Columbus, New Mexico. Villa was not captured and our relations with Latin America were not bettered by the two Mexican "incidents."

After the Vera Cruz affair, representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile met with representatives of this country and of Mexican factions, at Niagara Falls. They undertook to mediate between the United States and to be somehow helpful to Mexico, which was torn by civil warfare; but they accomplished little or nothing. The important thing about this "A B C" mediation was the fact that three major South American nations should have been invited thus to mediate in North American affairs.

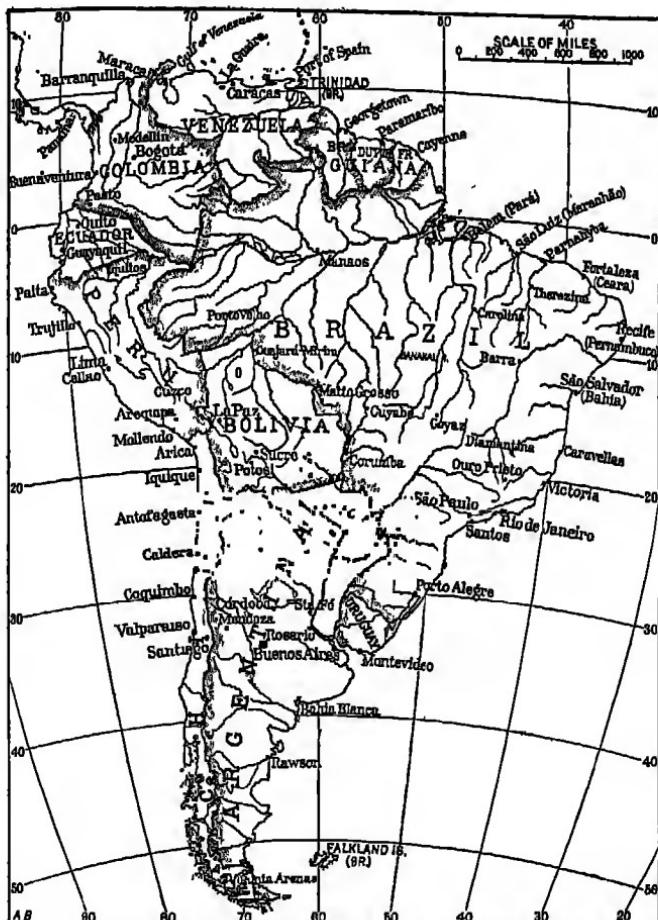
HEMISPHERE COÖPERATION

For half a century preceding the outbreak of general warfare in 1939 there were efforts in our country and other American republics for the promotion of peace and coöperation throughout the New World. These efforts were often halting, and they were sometimes neutralized by unfortunate words or acts; nevertheless, they laid the foundation for the satisfactory understanding that exists among the American nations in this time of great trial for all the world.

THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION

At the end of 1889 and the beginning of 1890 the first Pan-American Congress met at Washington, D. C. It established the Bureau of American Republics, which became the Pan-American Union. Similar congresses have since been held

at various Latin-American capitals. The Union, embracing twenty-one American republics, has done much to promote understanding and coöperation within this hemisphere. The Bulletin of the Pan-American Union is published each month at Washington, D. C., in English, Spanish, and Portuguese (for Brazil).



South America as it is divided among ten independent republics and the three Guianas — British, Dutch, and French.

THE GOOD-NEIGHBOR POLICY

President Wilson successfully urged Congress to indemnify Colombia for the loss of Panama. President Calvin Coolidge recalled the occupying American marines from Santo Domingo; President Hoover recalled them from Nicaragua; and President Franklin D. Roosevelt recalled them from Haiti.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, with the active support of President F. D. Roosevelt, developed a much more friendly feeling between us and the Central and South American nations. At the Montevideo Pan-American Conference in 1933, Secretary Hull made it clear that the United States has no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of the other American nations. In the Cuban turmoil incidental to the overthrow of President Machado in 1933 there was no intervention by the United States, and there has been none since. The Platt Amendment, a provision in the constitution of Cuba allowing direct intervention, has been done away with by a treaty between the United States and Cuba, much to the satisfaction of the Cubans. By actions as well as words Secretary Hull asserted and reasserted the Good-Neighbor policy of the United States. If serious trouble arises in an American nation, that policy looks to joint action by several of the American republics.

Upon the outbreak of war in Europe on September 1, 1939, a special conference of Pan-American statesmen was held at Panama within the month. It declared that the belligerents might not engage in warfare within three hundred miles of an American shore. This stretched international law pretty far; it could not have any appreciable effect, because no provision was made for enforcement. In July, 1940, another such conference, held at Havana, passed the Act of Havana to supplement the Monroe Doctrine. The act declares in effect that if an Old World power takes a colony from another Old World power in the Western Hemisphere, the American republics will step in to liberate that colony from any foreign domination. Such a

Pan-American policy is now more imperative than ever, since a hostile air power could use a single island like Martinique to harass both American continents.

"LATIN AMERICA" A BROAD TERM

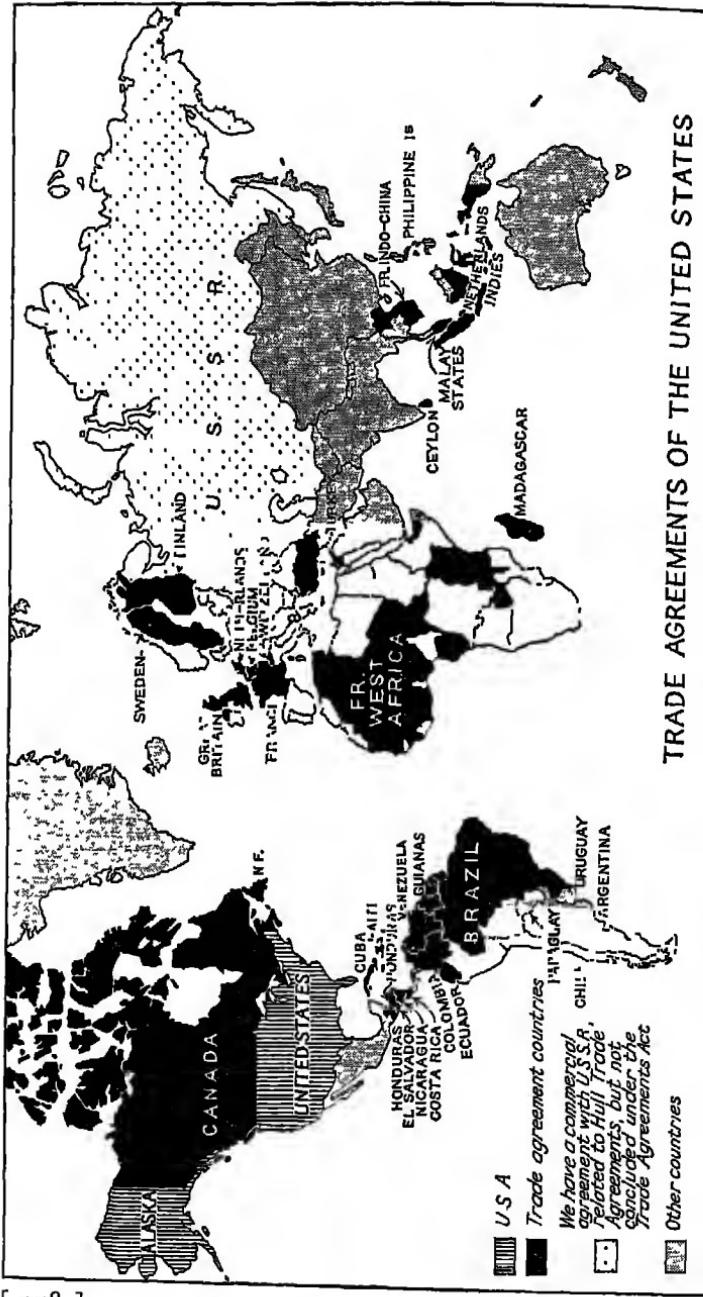
Only too often the people of the United States have considered the twenty nations south of the Rio Grande in one sweeping classification, Latin America, while in actuality there are great differences among those nations. Only geographically do they constitute a natural bloc; there are various lines of cleavage. A number of them have had more contacts with Europe than with each other or with the United States. Force of circumstances caused Latin-American countries to look to the United States for trade and loans, and even guidance, during the First World War. During the Second World War all of them traded with us more extensively than before, trade and travel with Europe then being under severe handicaps.

Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are often grouped together. But Brazil is Portuguese-speaking and largely Negro, Chile and Argentina are Spanish-speaking, the former largely Indian and the latter almost wholly white.

Brazil has traditionally been friendly with the United States. Commercial relations have been the better because we want Brazil's coffee and tropical products, while Brazil wants our manufactured goods. It has been different with Argentina, which desires to export beef and grain and other temperate-zone products that we likewise produce in surplus quantities. The reciprocal trade agreement made by the United States and Argentina in 1941 was expected to mark a step toward further coöperation. All the Latin-American nations have comparatively small populations and limited or undeveloped resources, and they are directly dependent on foreign trade. The United States has encouraged Latin-American trade, extending help through loans from the Export-Import Bank; but loans are rather temporary helps.

TRADE AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Special trade relations of the United States with other nations, so far as they were arranged by the latter part of 1941. Since 1941 trade barriers throughout the New World have been broken down as never before.



Following the three dictators' victory in Spain, the Latin-American republics had more or less trouble because of subversive activities. Franco's Spaniards assisted the Germans and the Italians in encouraging South American home talent — fifth columnists — to plot against national liberty. The uncovering of Nazi and Fascist plots made our neighbors to the south lean more toward us. During the summer of 1941, on their own motion, they followed the lead of the United States in such actions as seizing Axis vessels in their ports.

When the Japanese attacked us at Pearl Harbor, the Central and South American nations responded almost immediately. Within three days eight Latin-American nations declared war on Japan; Mexico and Colombia severed relations with Japan; Mexico rushed reinforcements into Lower California, the troops being sent through our territory to get there quickly; Argentina, Brazil, and Chile invited the United States to use their ports.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics held at Rio de Janeiro, January 15 to January 28, 1942, was successful. All the delegates agreed in principle to the policy of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan. Eleven American countries, including this country and Canada, were already at war with the Axis Powers when the conference opened; and while the conference was in session Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay put an end to relations with the Axis. Incidentally, an old boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador was placed in the way of settlement. Arrangements were made for greater economic solidarity — the lessening of tariffs and any other trade restrictions among all the American republics, for the duration of the war.

Only Argentina, dominated by a clique of Fascist inclination, seemed to favor the Germans and their allies during the war.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH

More nearly democratic and more nearly a republic in actuality than many a so-called republic is the self-governing

Dominion of Canada. The Dominion is not a member of the Pan-American Union, probably because of her membership in the British Empire, which is a colonial power in the New World. For practical purposes Canada is linked with the Pan-American Union — the Inter-American System — through her solidarity with the United States.

The Dominion has a population of somewhat more than 11 million people, as compared with more than 131 million in our forty-eight states. The majority of the inhabitants of Canada are clustered in the southern part of the country near our borders and along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. By agreement, the 3000-mile boundary line between Canada and the United States has been undefended on either side for about a century and a quarter. However, by a recent supplementary agreement the Great Lakes have been opened to the use of naval-training vessels of both countries. In Canadian-American relations the two countries have the immense advantage of the same language and similar cultural backgrounds. The large French-speaking population centered about Quebec contributes no international difficulty.

Since 1939 Canada has been transforming herself, under the pressure of war needs, into a more highly industrialized nation. The importance and influence of Canada are constantly increasing. She has vast resources and can support a much larger population. If she continues to industrialize, there will necessarily be important changes in her commerce with the United States. Not so many manufactured products will be wanted, while demand for citrus fruits, books, magazines, and luxury products will probably continue. We have long made heavy importations from Canada, including minerals, cattle, lumber, and large quantities of wood pulp for paper.

In 1931 a treaty was negotiated between the United States and Canada, providing for a deep waterway from Lake Superior to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Such a waterway would permit the passage of large naval and cargo vessels from the Great Lakes

to the Atlantic, and incidentally would yield vast electrical power. Thus far our Senate has failed to ratify the treaty. A vote taken in 1941 showed a majority in favor of the St. Lawrence Waterway project, but not the necessary two-thirds majority. Work has been advanced on the United States' part of the project under ordinary Federal legislation; but completion waits on treaty ratification.

Canada has been in full accord with the United States in the program of hemispheric defense, and following the inauguration of our lend-lease program she received direct aid from us. Immediately following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Canada declared war on Japan. She coöperated effectively with the United States throughout the war.

The Western Hemisphere, not so immediately involved in the ever-recurring crises of Europe and Asia, is one area in which the methods of constructive coöperation among nations have a good chance for continued growth.

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN FAR-EASTERN AFFAIRS

In colonial times Americans thought of the lands of eastern and southern Asia chiefly as producers of tea and spices. The tea trade of the old British Empire was a monopoly in the hands of the British East India Company. Colonial Americans might sail in the company's vessels, but they might not own or operate vessels in the trade.

EARLY AMERICAN TRADING TO THE EAST

Independence did away with British Empire restrictions, and presently the brand-new Stars and Stripes were fluttering from mastheads in all the ports of the world that were open to foreigners. A brisk trade grew up with China. A vessel from Boston or Baltimore would gather the pelts of fur-bearing animals — particularly those of sea otters — on the northwesterly coast of this continent, would carry the pelts and other goods to

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

Chinese ports where foreign trade was tolerated, and would trade them for tea and other wares of China.

In 1854 Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry persuaded — and perhaps also browbeat — the Japanese authorities of the time to throw the country open more widely to foreign trade, especially with the United States. From Perry's visit dates the beginning of the transformation of feudal Japan into a world power. The Japanese, not unappreciative, named an arm of the Bay of Tokyo for Perry's flagship — Mississippi Bay.

Until the end of the nineteenth century our interest in the Far East was confined to trade and the investment incidental to trade.

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

In 1899, following our entrance into the Philippine Islands, President McKinley's Secretary of State, John Hay, took the lead in establishing the Open Door policy with reference to China (page 196). He sent a circular note to the powers interested in China, suggesting that all should agree: (1) that the "treaty ports" would be kept open; (2) that Chinese tariffs would apply equally on the goods of all nations; and (3) that harbor and railroad rates in China would be uniform. The purpose of the Open Door policy was to limit European and other imperialism in China and to maintain equal commercial privileges.

Hay's policy was generally accepted. At any rate it was not challenged for a long time. Serious opposition to the Open Door policy came ultimately from Japan. Steadily she pressed on the door to close it; and finally, in December of 1941, she attacked the principal keepers of the door, Uncle Sam and John Bull.

OUR ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

In 1898, 1899, and 1900 the United States took the Philippine Islands — Manila and a few other ports against the resistance of weakened Spanish garrisons beleaguered by Filipinos, and the

rest of the island dominion against considerable Filipino resistance. The Filipinos, although located off the southeastern coast of the Asiatic continent, had been a colonial people of Spain for more than three centuries. They were in revolt against Spain, having proclaimed a republic, when Admiral George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

Our government promptly announced that our holding of the islands would be temporary and would lead to their independence. The typical United States reforms — roads, public schools, and the improvement of sanitation — were launched in the Philippines. These were paid for from taxes raised in the islands; but military and naval expenditures for the protection of the islands, and some other expenditures, were met by our treasury. The country developed a lively export trade with the United States, and there were few tariff barriers.

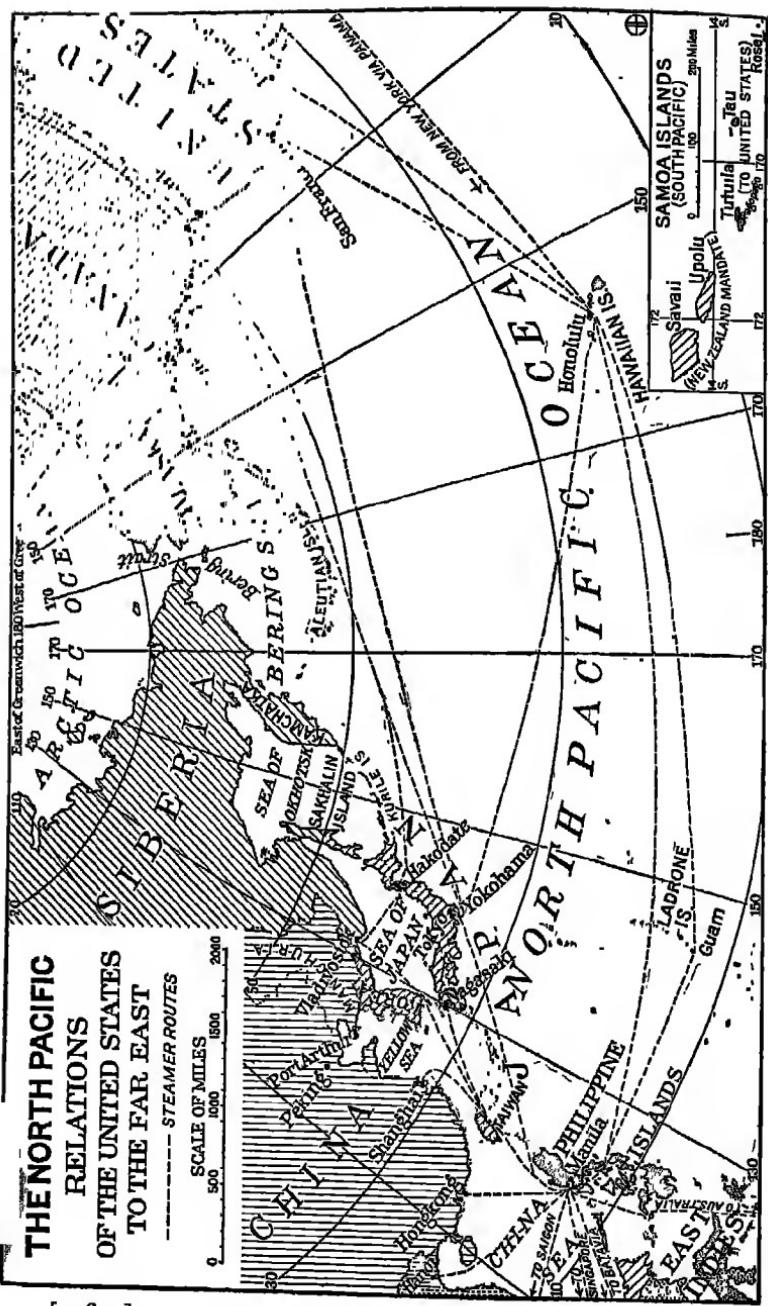
By and large, the Philippine Islands enjoyed greater autonomy than any state in the Union. Nevertheless, Filipino agitation for independence and American promises of independence when the time should be ripe for it were about continuous. In 1934 the United States Congress passed a law that authorized the setting up of a Philippine Commonwealth and provided for the full independence of the islands to begin, in effect, on July 4, 1946. This law was much desired by American sugar producers who wished to exclude Philippine sugar from the American market. Manuel Quezon was elected the first president of the Commonwealth, and the new government was inaugurated in December, 1935. On July 4, 1946, Manuel Roxas became the first president of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Japanese long looked hopefully to the time when we should get out of the Philippines, bag and baggage. When the Filipinos were rid of King Log, would they get King Stork? Simultaneously with their attack on Hawaii on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the Philippine Islands. The Filipinos fought bravely and well to defend their flag and

**THE NORTH PACIFIC
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OF THE UNITED STATES
TO THE FAR EAST**

— STEAMER ROUTES

SCALE OF MILES
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ours. The Japanese gained control of the islands in 1942, only to relinquish them to United States forces in 1944-1945.

AMERICAN FORCES IN CHINA

In 1900 a Chinese secret society of political character, alarmed at the increasing foreign influence in their country, rose against all foreigners, and against their own Manchu imperial government so far as it actually stood in their way. Its members called this society "The Order of the Literary Patriotic Harmonious Fists" — in short, the Boxers. The Boxers murdered many missionaries and other foreigners, and they laid siege to the foreign concessions in Tientsin and Peking. A joint expedition of European, Japanese, and American forces (from the Philippines) was sent into China under the supreme command of a German general, Count von Waldersee. The beleaguered foreigners at Tientsin and Peking were rescued and the Boxers were completely overcome.

The Manchu government of China was required to punish the Boxer leaders and was compelled to pay to the nations allied in suppressing the Boxers an indemnity of \$333,000,000. The share of the United States was set at \$24,000,000; but the losses sustained by citizens of the United States were found actually to be about one half that sum. Our citizens having been reimbursed, the remainder was marked for return to China. The Chinese handsomely refused to take the money; instead they had it placed in a fund to provide scholarships for Chinese students in the United States.

Following the Boxer revolt, bodies of foreign troops were stationed in several Chinese cities, ostensibly as a guarantee against a repetition of the Boxer episode. When American-Japanese relations looked bad in November, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt recalled our marines from Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai. The President was taking account of the fact that the Japanese forces in China could speedily

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overwhelm these token forces of ours. He was right; for some two hundred of our marines who had not yet left Tientsin were promptly captured by the Japanese when the latter made their surprise attack upon our outposts on Sunday, December 7, 1941.

JAPAN ON THE MARCH

Japan's desire to dominate eastern and southeastern Asia had been made apparent in various ways for more than forty years, before she entered upon her desperate gamble, as the ally of Germany and Italy, for "world power or downfall."

JAPAN VICTORIOUS IN WARS WITH CHINA AND RUSSIA

In 1894 to 1895 Japan fought a victorious war with China, receiving the island of Formosa (Taiwan) and an indemnity. A big game of grab was on, with China holding the bag; and within a few years Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany had enlarged their holdings of Chinese ports and territories.

At the beginning of this century the Russian Empire clearly menaced Japan from points in Manchuria and Korea. In 1904 and 1905 Japan fought a successful war with Russia, taking from Russia some of her Chinese holdings; also the southern two fifths of the Siberian island of Sakhalin.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS AND WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In 1902 Japan entered an alliance with Great Britain. With renewals, the alliance lasted until the agreements made at the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921 to 1925 brought it to an end. The alliance covered the period of the war of 1914 to 1918, when Japanese forces policed Singapore and other points on behalf of the British, thus releasing British forces for service in Europe.

In 1910 Japan formally annexed the peninsula of Korea (Chosen), once a Chinese tributary, over which Japan had exercised a protectorate since the Russo-Japanese War.

Under the Treaty of Versailles Japan succeeded to holdings of Germany in China; also she took over as mandates most of the small island possessions of Germany in the Pacific. A mandate was theoretically a trusteeship exercised under the League of Nations and revocable by the League. However, when Japan resigned from the League in 1935 she kept her so-called mandates.

American and Japanese relations were strained in 1906 by anti-Japanese manifestations in California, and later by legislation in California and other states which was directed against the holding of real property in those states by aliens. An immigration bill passed by Congress in 1924 excluded the rank and file of Japanese from immigration to this country, just as the Chinese had been excluded a good many years earlier. This action was unnecessary and unfortunate, as the Japanese government, under a "gentlemen's agreement" with our government, had for some time very effectively kept its own people from coming here to settle. An unfortunate observation by the Japanese ambassador to this country, about the possible effects of Japanese exclusion, influenced the Congress to its brusque action; nevertheless the Congress, and perhaps the President also, incurred a grave responsibility in promoting Japanese ill will.

AGGRESSIONS IN THE 1930's

With Western nations in the depths of economic troubles in 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and managed to set up there a puppet state which she called Manchukuo. For puppet emperor, the Japanese installed Prince Henry Pu-yi, who as a little boy had been the last Manchu to bear the title of Emperor of China. Made nominal ruler of Manchuria, or Manchukuo, the land of his ancestors of three hundred and more years ago, Pu-yi was given the name Kang Teh.

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

In 1932 the Japanese attacked the Chinese quarter of Shanghai, causing frightful losses in life and property.

By 1933 Japan had extended her control from Manchukuo to five border provinces in north China.

In 1937 Japan, completely in the hands of her militarists, undertook to subjugate the whole of China. At first she called her war the Chinese "incident." Afterward she referred to it as an "affair."

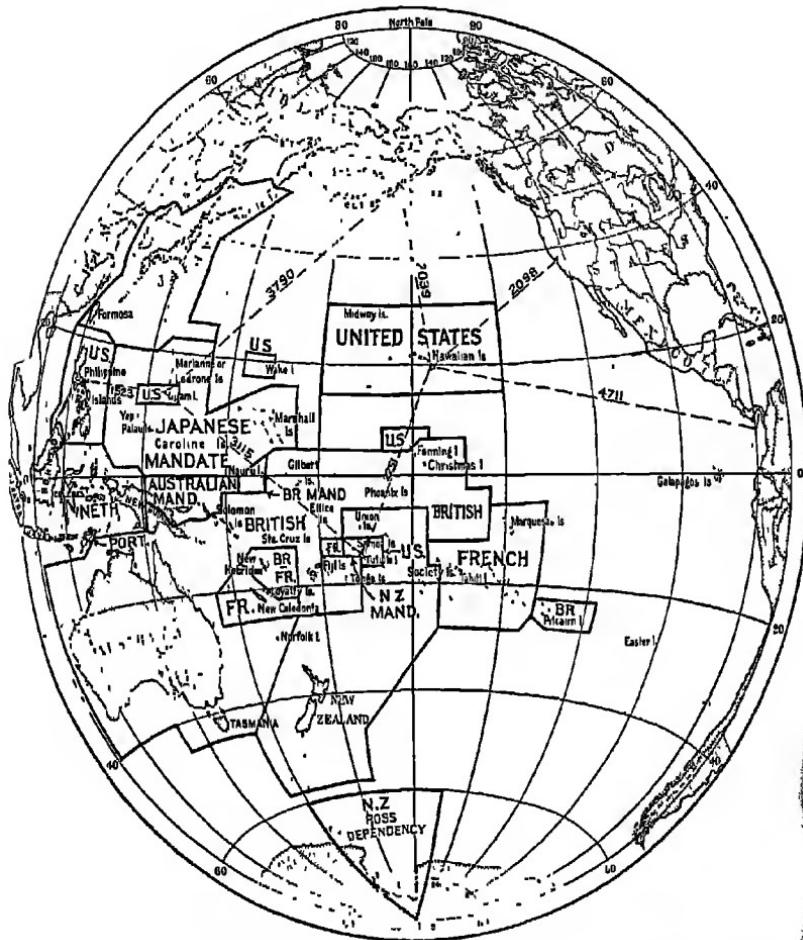
When Germany invaded Poland in September, 1939, Japan had already experienced two years of large-scale continuous fighting in central China. China had lost her seaports and President Chiang Kai-shek had moved the capital far west to Chungking. The campaigns had degenerated into a stalemate in which Japan was not able to conquer the Chinese and China was not able to drive out the Japanese.

JAPAN AS A COLLABORATOR WITH GERMANY AND ITALY

The war in Europe opened new possibilities for Japan's achieving her "new order for Greater East Asia." In September, 1940, Japan entered into an alliance with Germany and Italy and thus became an Axis partner. Thereupon Great Britain strengthened her forces at Singapore; the Dutch East Indies fortified themselves; and the United States made plans to build enough new warships to give us naval supremacy at once in the Pacific and in the Atlantic — that is, supremacy with reference to Nazi Germany and her allies.

By the middle of 1941 Japan had succeeded in taking over French Indo-China and was making threats in the direction of Thailand (formerly known as Siam), the Netherlands East Indies, and Singapore (Great Britain's great naval base). The German invasion of Russia, which began in June, 1941, brought the ever-present possibility of a Japanese attack on Siberia.

In 1941 the United States finally blocked exports of vital materials to Japan, cutting off her major supply — at the time —



Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Japan received as mandates the former German colonies north of the equator. Great Britain and the dominions of Australia and New Zealand received the former colonies south of the equator. Note the locations of the islands of Midway, Wake, and Guam.

of oil, iron, cotton, and other goods. At the same time we boycotted the silk and other products of Japan. No longer were we an economic ally of Japan in her warfare with the Chinese, a people friendly to us on a basis of common interest.

A new Japanese premier, General Eiki Tojo, came to power in October, 1941, succeeding Prince Fumimaro Konoye. The general had been considered an aggressive leader, and his first official pronouncements bore out the impression. With extremist leadership in control, Japan was neither in the mood nor in the position to make a live-and-let-live arrangement with the United States, Great Britain, and China. Notions of national honor, or "face" as Orientals call it, made it practically impossible for over-assured and over-sensitive Japan to back down when it had taken a very determined stand in any matter. Curiously, honor or "face" seemed not to require the fulfillment of treaty obligations voluntarily assumed.

Beginning in April of 1941 and continuing into December, our government and that of Japan carried on discussions concerning their relations. Great Britain and the Dutch East Indies government tried also to arrange a tolerable working agreement with Japan. Incidentally, America, Britain, China, and the Dutch East Indies (strictly, *Netherlands* East Indies) came to be referred to as the A B C D powers.

In November the Mikado sent a special envoy, Saburo Kurusu, to Washington to assist the Japanese ambassador, Kichisaburo Nomura, in carrying on talks with Secretary of State Cordell Hull. These talks served no purpose other than to make clear to all the world our country's attitude on Far Eastern affairs and to give the Japanese a little more time to perfect their war plans. Mr. Hull insisted all along that four conditions were basic to good relations between the United States and Japan:

- (1) The withdrawal of Japan from the Axis alliance.
- (2) The renunciation of further aggression by Japan.

- (3) The withdrawal of all Japanese armed forces from China and French Indo-China.
- (4) Non-discrimination in trade in the Far East (the Open Door) and equal commercial opportunity for all nations throughout the Pacific area (the door opened wider).

While Mr. Hull and the Japanese diplomats were continuing their meetings the Japanese moved more large bodies of troops into Indo-China, increasing the threat to Thailand and the British and Dutch lands to the south. On December 6 President Roosevelt sent a message directly to Emperor Hirohito, once more urging the peaceful settlement of differences. On Sunday, December 7, the Japanese diplomats presented to our government their emperor's official reply — nothing was nearer to the heart of the emperor than the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. But three hours earlier the real reply of the emperor, or his government, had been delivered in fire and blood at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu (page 296).

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What great movement took place in Spanish America during the second decade and at the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century?
2. The victory of the enemies of Napoleon I brought a danger to Spanish America. What was that danger?
3. Just what did Monroe practically forbid in his Doctrine?
4. What made it possible for the United States to take so strong a stand in 1823?
5. What was the position of Russia in the New World in 1823 and until as late as 1867?
6. What was the "Japanese Monroe Doctrine"? Compare it with the original Doctrine, in theory and in practice.
7. In what circumstances did the United States take a stand on the Monroe Doctrine to the benefit of Mexico?
8. How did President Cleveland invoke the Doctrine on behalf of Venezuela?

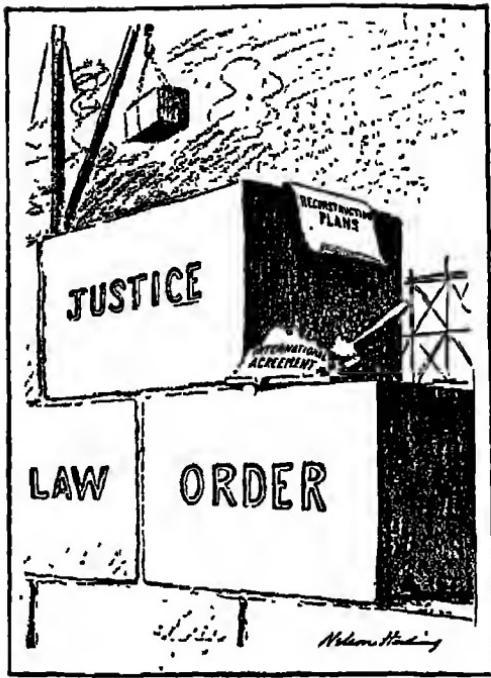
9. How was our country plunged more deeply into Spanish-American affairs in the Presidency of William McKinley?
10. Under Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, did we concern ourselves more or less about the affairs of the other republics of the New World? Mention an act of each of these Presidents which is in point.
11. What is the membership of the Pan-American Union? What is its chief purpose?
12. What was the Platt Amendment?
13. Tell about the Good-Neighbor policy. Which President did most to advance that policy?
14. Tell about two or more important meetings of representatives of the Pan-American republics.
15. What does the term "Latin America" cover? the term "Spanish America"?
16. What are the "A B C powers"? the "A B C D powers"?
17. Why is it easier for our country to satisfy Brazil than to satisfy Argentina?
18. What has our government done to offset the bad effect of the Mexican "incidents" of 1914 and 1916?
19. "Canada has a nation within the nation." Explain.
20. What is the St. Lawrence Waterway project? Baltimore and Boston had no enthusiasm for the Erie Canal when it was projected by the state of New York. New York City has no enthusiasm for the St. Lawrence Waterway. Various reasons — some good — can be given for the attitude of opposition; but what is the obvious common reason?
21. Tell about the action that gave lasting interest to the name of Matthew Calbraith Perry.
22. What is meant by the term "Open Door policy"? By rights, with whom does the control of any door lie?
23. How did the United States come into control of the Philippine Islands? What did we promise the people of the islands? What is their present condition?
24. Tell how it happened that a scholarship fund grew out of the Boxer Rebellion.
25. Why might China during the past century have been characterized as an open grab bag? Give instances.
26. During what period was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance effective? How did it serve Great Britain during the World War of 1914 to 1918?

NEW-WORLD AND EAST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

27. Mention half a dozen military adventures of Japan since the early 1890's.
28. Tell about the beginnings of Japanese-American differences. Were these early differences unavoidable on our part? Why?
29. Tell about Japan's relations with China, 1931 to 1945.
30. What developments in 1940 and 1941 ended in war between the United States and Japan?
31. In the long run it was probably better for us to have Japan as an enemy than as an ally in the Second World War. Why?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Brazil's history in the nineteenth century was in some respects markedly different from that of any other Latin-American country. Let one or more students inform themselves, and then report to the class, on the manner in which Brazil gained independence, the form of government that prevailed for more than half a century following independence, the liberation of slaves, and the inauguration of the republic.
2. At expositions held in this country Latin-American countries have generally been well represented. Different members of the class might report on topics such as these: Dom Pedro's visit to Bell's exhibit at Philadelphia in 1876, President McKinley's words on Latin-American relations in his speech at Buffalo in 1901; exhibits of Latin-American countries at recent fairs, as the Century of Progress Exhibition at Chicago and the World of Tomorrow Exposition at New York.
3. There have been no fewer than three empires in Mexico, two of them in modern times. Find out about three Mexican empires.
4. Let several students find out about the extent of authentic unfriendly feeling toward our country in Mexico, and let them report to the class. What is the reason for such feeling? What, if anything, may be done about it?
5. Japan is basically far smaller and poorer and weaker than our country. Consider how it was possible for the island empire to make its prodigious war efforts within this century.



CHAPTER

12

THE ARBITRAMENT OF
THE SWORD

*W*HEN minor powers like Paraguay and Bolivia make war on each other, stronger nations, and especially those at a distance, can and generally do remain neutral. It is far otherwise when major powers go to war; then neutrality becomes almost impossible. A weak neutral is likely to be bullied into rendering unneutral service to whichever belligerent can bring pressure to bear upon it. A powerful neutral is likely from choice to render unneutral service to the side it favors. The powerful neutral sees that its interest will be adversely affected or even that its safety will be imperiled by the victory of one contestant; therefore, secretly or openly, it undertakes to render unneutral service to the other side.

EFFORTS FOR NEUTRALITY AND PEACE

The path of true neutrality is narrow and difficult. It is a kind of slack rope that can be traversed only by the exercise of the most skillful statecraft. Leaning to one side or the other may mean falling into the abyss of war; leaning over backward seems to be safer.

RECENT NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION
OF THE UNITED STATES

In 1935, when Italy was occupied with her conquest of Ethiopia, our Congress passed a Neutrality Act, the chief feature of which was a prohibition of the export of any implements of

war to belligerents; if the President should find that a state of war existed between nations, he would proclaim that fact and declare an arms embargo against the belligerents. Such a proclamation President Roosevelt presently made, touching Italy and Ethiopia. In 1937 there was further neutrality legislation.

In 1939, following the outbreak of war in Europe, the Congress passed a Neutrality Act that prohibited American vessels from entering war zones and forbade trading in the securities of belligerents and the making of loans by our citizens to belligerents. The Act, like much legislation of the time, gave the President considerable latitude — considerable control over the details of our neutrality.

According to the rules of international law neutrals have the right to trade with belligerents and to send their vessels into war zones, subject to the peril of seizure of contraband goods and seizure of vessels trying to run effective blockades. But regardless of that fact, the Allied Powers as well as Germany had disregarded our neutral rights from 1914 to 1917, when we ourselves went to war.

In 1939 Americans generally felt that no amount of war trade could possibly be worth the imperilment of our peace, and in the Neutrality Act of that year our government leaned over backward to be on the safe side. The Neutrality Act of 1939 had something in common with the Embargo Act of 1807, although it did not go so far. The drastic Embargo failed in Jefferson's time, and it was abandoned. And in November, 1941, Congress practically repealed its Act of 1939 (page 295).

APPEALS FOR PEACE ON THE EVE OF WAR

On April 15, 1939, when Mussolini had just conquered Albania and his henchmen were shouting for concessions from France, President Roosevelt sent to him and to Adolf Hitler practically identical messages. Mr. Roosevelt patiently and politely pointed out to the two dictators the immediate danger

and the folly, too, of war. He besought them to use the good offices of the United States in securing settlements rather than to resort to war. Hitler replied in a disingenuous and bitter speech, filled with denunciations. The President's message and the substance of Hitler's reply are to be found in the *World Almanac* for 1940, on pages 66 and 67. In view of subsequent events, the matter is worth reading.

In May, 1939, the Duke of Windsor, who had been King of Great Britain as Edward VIII, speaking over the radio as a private individual, made a plea for the preservation of world peace. Because this plea was well expressed, timely, and typical of the thought of all lovers of peace, it is worthy of a moment's consideration. Among other things, the speaker said: "I cannot claim for myself the expert knowledge of a statesman, but I have at least had the good fortune to travel the world and therefore to study human nature. This valuable experience has left me with the profound conviction that there is no land whose people want war. This I believe to be as true of the German nation as of the British nation to which I belong, as it is of you in America and of the French nation."

The Pope and other religious authorities made efforts to win the men of war to peace by persuasion. Our President continued to plead for world peace while he warned against war.

In June, 1939, King George VI of Great Britain, with the Queen, visited Canada and the United States. The royal tour was a British gesture of good will. The British were mending their fences, commendably.

All through the summer of 1939 the German volcano smoldered and rumbled. Hitler was bullying Poland; Danzig he must have, and a wide German corridor through the Polish Corridor. All the while Hitler was putting more and more pressure on the Czechs, whose national freedom he had taken away. The Poles were uneasy, to say the least. Expecting support from France and Great Britain, they refused to make hasty and abject submission to Hitler's demands.

THE RUSSO-GERMAN AGREEMENT OF 1939

Hitler had from the beginning of his career as an agitator denounced both Communism and Russia; he had proclaimed himself as a kind of dragon killer, the hero who was to save western Europe and the rest of the world from the Soviets. And had not he and Mussolini and the Mikado — and Franco also — entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact against Russia?

A REVERSAL OF RELATIONS

The British and the French and the Poles had been little less virulent toward Russia than the Germans had been. But during the summer of 1939, when war was in the air, the British and the French sent military missions to Moscow. The purpose was to form a working agreement with Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator, for the defense of Poland and the checking of German aggression. In *Mein Kampf* and in speeches after he became Führer, Hitler had mentioned the rich spoils to be had from Russia, and particularly the grainfields of the Ukraine. Surely Stalin would welcome the opportunity to join with the French and the British to check the Germans!

Suddenly, toward the end of August, 1939, while the British and French military missions were still in Moscow, Germany and Russia announced that they had made a trade agreement. Presently they announced that they had entered also into a non-aggression pact to run for ten years. The Anti-Comintern Pact was ignored, for the time being.

A NEW BLOOD BATH FOR THE NATIONS

The news of the German-Russian agreement came with stunning effect to the rest of the world. Hitler now had a free hand, so far as Russia was concerned, to deal with Danzig and Poland.

CONQUEST AND PARTITION OF POLAND

Great Britain and France assured Poland that they would support her in the event of a German attack, and the attack was not long in coming. Before dawn on September 1, 1939, German armies invaded Poland, without a declaration of war. A few hours later Hitler made a bombastic war speech, and on the same day he declared Danzig restored to the Reich (page 71). Two days later Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Every step of this last mile on the road to war was instantly reported by radio to the whole civilized world. Metropolitan crowds and hermits in remote cabins alike heard Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain read before Parliament Great Britain's declaration of war.

The British Dominions, one by one, made their own declarations of war against Germany; the Irish Free State, now Eire, chose to remain neutral. Irish neutrality was an anomalous thing. There were disadvantages to Great Britain in Free State neutrality; probably advantages also. Britain had to get along without naval bases on the western coast of Ireland, sorely needed for operations against enemy submarines and other raiders. The Eire officials succeeded in avoiding actual warfare with Germany, and Empire forces were spared the task of helping to defend that commonwealth.

When the Germans had reached the gates of Warsaw, Russian troops marched into the eastern half of Poland and occupied it. This they did in perfect accord with the Germans, who were doing the heavy fighting.

In Poland the Germans demonstrated their *Blitzkrieg* — "Lightning War" — technique which they had calculatingly tried out on Spaniards in the Spanish Civil War. And it worked. Before the British and the French could render any effective aid whatever the German mechanized forces had destroyed the Polish armies and the German *Luftwaffe*, the air force, had blasted Warsaw into ruin and submission. The



The Irish Free State, or Eire, as this map shows, controls all the coasts of Ireland (including the northernmost point), except the northeast coast, which belongs to Northern Ireland. In January, 1912, the Irish Free State protested against the placing of bodies of United States troops in Northern Ireland, on the ground that this action endangered Irish neutrality.

Poles, as ever, were brave; but their cavalry, which would have been the pride of the first Napoleon, was useless against tanks and their small air force could only bear heroes to their death. After three weeks of warfare Poland lay conquered and divided. The Germans took the more industrialized part of the country with some 18 million people; the Russians took the eastern agricultural area with some 14 million people.

"ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT"

The French, being at war, manned the tremendously strong fortifications along their border with Germany. These fortifications, constituting the Maginot Line, had been built at very great cost to make France really secure against any possible

THE ARBITRAMENT OF THE SWORD

German attack. The Germans were holding their Siegfried Line, which was intended to make successful attack from France impossible.

British expeditionary forces joined the French, as they had done twenty-five years earlier.

Through the winter of 1939 to 1940 the rival armies glowered at each other across the Franco-German boundary line. The French crossed into Germany and the Germans crossed into France at one point and another, and the locality where the boundaries of France, Luxembourg, and Germany meet (or met) came to be called "the noisy corner"; but there was no determined attack upon either of the great defensive lines. Humorously and in questionable taste the war was called the *Sitzkrieg* — the "Sitting War."

CONTRAST BETWEEN 1914 AND 1939

Many persons made serious mistakes in judging the events of the war after September of 1939. They expected the new war to follow the same pattern as the war of 1914 to 1918. Except for the first six months on the western front, the war of 1939 to 1945 was characterized chiefly by rapid movement over vast areas. The German "blitz" warfare, with mechanized divisions highly coördinated with the air force, compelled other nations to revolutionize their methods in order to withstand German attacks. Until the German invasion of Russia early in the summer of 1941, the casualties were very small as compared with those of 1914 to 1918: superiority in tanks and planes decided the issue over wide regions without vast slaughter.

The war of 1939 to 1945, to an even higher degree than that of 1914 to 1918, involved whole populations, drawing on every resource of the world. People in cities, especially in England and in Germany, were in constant danger from air raids. Every inhabitant of London, for example, may be said to have been in the front line of battle. The morale of the whole people,

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in one warring country and another, influenced the success of war efforts. The "war of words," in press reports, radio broadcasts, and official announcements by governments, was as much a part of the national effort as were the activities of the sea, land, and air forces.

WEAK NATIONS BETWEEN THE MILLSTONES

While the "Sitzkrieg" went on in the west, Russia added to the Soviet Union the three little Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The Bear invited them to come in, and it was not for them to refuse. These lands, and Finland too, had been ruled by Russia until she met disaster in the war of 1914 to 1918.

Finland was given boundaries that brought her territory almost to the gates of Leningrad (long called St. Petersburg, then Petrograd, then Leningrad). Russia, at the moment being given a free hand by Germany, demanded the cession by Finland of territory that seemed necessary to the proper protection of Leningrad. The Finns refused, and the Russians attacked them. Through bitter winter weather fighting went on. For whatever reason, the Russians came off badly for several months; but in March, 1940, the Finns were compelled to yield. Everything considered, the terms on which the Russians made peace were lenient.

On April 9, 1940, without demand or warning, overwhelming German forces occupied neutral Denmark, which had no means of resistance. On that same day the Germans undertook the occupation of Norway. The Norwegians resisted, and French and British land and naval forces came to their aid; but in about one month the Germans had mastered the country to the Arctic Ocean.

On May 10, 1940, the Germans began the occupation of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, all unoffending neutrals. The Dutch and the Belgians resisted

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valiantly. Although considerable French and British forces were thrown into Belgium, the Germans moved so rapidly in the Netherlands that no effective aid could be given there by the Allies.

The story of the conquest of Poland was repeated. After Rotterdam, great commercial city of the Netherlands, had surrendered to the Germans the *Luftwaffe* methodically and thoroughly bombed the place, causing great loss of life and untold property damage. The Germans said that this had happened as the result of some misunderstanding; but it is generally believed that the bombing was carried out to give to all the world a dread of the ruthless German power. On May 28, when France had already begun to waver, the King of the Belgians surrendered.

Remnants of Belgian, British, and French forces were surrounded by the Germans at Dunkerque, the northernmost port of France. Thence, under constant attack from the air, they were with difficulty removed to England by hastily assembled British water craft of all descriptions. Vast quantities of military equipment and supplies were left on the shore, spoils of war for the Germans.

THE FALL OF FRANCE

With the Low Countries prostrate, the Germans rapidly overran northern France. They had no need to assault the Maginot Line; they went around it. Just so they had proceeded in 1914 when they violated Belgian neutrality — marched through that country and crushed it, to get at France without attacking her then existing eastern defenses. The French, it seems, might have known.

The Germans drove through the French lines with "armored spearheads," army tank divisions fully mechanized, called in German *Panzer Divisionen*. Flying ahead of the armored units went the *Stukas* — dive bombers — swooping low and dropping bombs at close quarters, then suddenly reversing and

climbing upward preparatory to a new swoop. It is said that Ernst Udet, famed German ace and airplane authority (killed in a military accident in 1941), had seen aviators in the United States fly thus as a stunt and had taken the idea back to Germany, where military use was made of it.

After Dunkerque, Premier Paul Reynaud of France tried vainly to continue the war against Germany. By the middle of June Paris had been captured, and Reynaud's Cabinet and advisers were in favor of an armistice. Reynaud resigned; Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, who won fame at Verdun in the World War of 1914 to 1918, was chosen Premier, and he asked for German terms. An armistice was arranged, and firing ceased on June 24. By the terms of the armistice Germany occupied more than half of France, including Paris, and held about two million French prisoners. The unoccupied part of France with the capital at Vichy was nominally left under the rule of the aged Marshal Pétain. The French colonies and the French navy were left to the Vichy government, for a time. Military equipment and supplies were to be delivered to the Germans; also any refugees from German rule anywhere, whom Hitler might demand, were to be surrendered. The French were to pay all costs of the German army of occupation. Pétain proceeded to govern by decree, dropped the old motto of free France, "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité," and listened to his master's voice. The German boot was on every neck in France. Thus the Third Republic of France came to an end.

As the war progressed the Germans tightened their hold on "unoccupied" or "Vichy" France, as well as on the rest of the country. However, French patriots of the "underground" conducted secret and terrible warfare against the invaders. And when the war was over they rounded up and punished those persons who had collaborated with the Germans.

Important internal factors in the fall of France were these: Incompetent political leadership; the endless contentions of greedy groups and factions for advantage to themselves, regard-

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less of the common weal; the incompetence and even the disloyalty of high-ranking military officers; a cynical attitude toward all things.

With wise and able leadership the French, following 1918, could have remained invincible on the continent of Europe — invincible as long as such leadership lasted.

ITALY IN THE WAR

While the Germans were moving irresistibly to take Paris, Italy gave signs that she would presently join them in the war. Pleas against this course, made to Mussolini by the Pope, by the British government, and by President Roosevelt, were of no avail. On June 10 the Italians announced a state of war to begin on the day following. Italian troops succeeded in getting a slight foothold in southeastern France before the armistice between the Germans and the French. Two days after that armistice, another was entered into (June 24) between the Italians and the French. Firing was to cease on June 25, and the Italians were to be allowed to occupy the southeastern corner of France, which they proceeded to do.

The fall of France left Germany in a much better position to continue her warfare against Great Britain. German-controlled territory now half encircled the British Isles; the coasts of Norway, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France were available as bases to German raiders by sea and air.

GERMAN OCCUPATION OF THE BALKANS

Czarist Russia always had a direct interest in the Balkan countries (page 61). Large numbers of their people were Slavs whose speech was not far removed from Russian and whose religion was that of the Orthodox (or Eastern, or Greek, or — in Russia — Russian) Catholic Church. Russia had helped mightily to liberate these peoples from the rule of Turkey. Besides, Russia was always interested in Constanti-

nople (now Istanbul), desiring freer access to the Mediterranean for commerce. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the German Empire were interested in the Balkans as sources for raw materials, as markets for manufactured goods, and as affording a highway to the Near East. And the French, and the Italians also, each kept an eye on southeastern Europe and the Near East. A Balkan incident had served as the match to blow up the European powder magazine in 1914; and following 1939 the Balkans could scarcely stay out of the trouble.

Rumania, having thrown in her lot with the Allies in 1916, was defeated by the Germans, as was Russia. But after the German surrender in 1918 the Rumanians took the border territory of Bessarabia — without force and without resistance — from their late friend, Russia. They also received accessions of territory from Hungary and Bulgaria. After the Russo-German Agreement of 1939, Russia took back Bessarabia, and Hitler required Rumania to retrocede some territory to Hungary and other territory to Bulgaria. Rumania and Bulgaria came under Hitler's thumb.

In October, 1940, Italian forces invaded Greece, until then neutral and desirous to avoid war. The Greeks put up such a stiff fight that the Italians were forced to withdraw; and the fighting continued, with the Italians retreating through Albania. The Germans put Yugoslavia under pressure, and that country also chose to fight. The Germans blasted a way through Yugoslavia and went to the aid of the Italians, hard beset in Albania by the Greeks. The Germans went on and conquered mainland Greece, then took the island of Crete. This German advance to southernmost Europe, made by the middle of 1941, alarmed the British for the safety of the Suez Canal and Egypt.

Turkey continued to be under diplomatic pressure from Germany and Great Britain. What Turkey could do depended largely on the new developments in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. There the British took over French Syria.

THE ARBITRAMENT OF THE SWORD

WAR IN THE AFRICAN DESERT

After their entrance into the war the Italians undertook the invasion of Egypt from their colony of Libya. In 1941 British Empire forces drove them out of Egypt and out of the eastern half of Libya. Then German forces that had been landed in Libya despite British vigilance in the Mediterranean came to the aid of the Italians. The Empire forces were driven back to Egypt, all except a heroic garrison at Tobruk, a port in eastern Libya. Tobruk held out for seven months. Then, in November and December, 1941, Empire forces using many American-made tanks once more swept westward over Libya; and the Tobruk garrison, made up largely of Australians and New Zealanders, sallied forth against their besiegers. Beginning in mid-January, 1942, the British were again driven eastward, their forces having been weakened by withdrawals of men and materials for service elsewhere. Tobruk fell in June.

GERMAN INVASION OF RUSSIA

In June, 1941, Germany suddenly invaded Russia. There was no good pretext, even, for the German attack; and there was no warning other than that which the Russians might have taken from reports of German military preparations along the Russian borders. The Germans, with half a dozen satellite nations aiding them in one way or another, undertook the vastest military campaign in all history. But in place of a quick, easy victory, they found hard fighting, month after month, with great losses. They came within sight of Leningrad and Moscow; in the south they took most of the rich grainland of the Ukraine, which the Russians devastated before they yielded it, as part of their "scorched earth" policy. Toward the close of November, 1941, the Germans captured Rostov at the mouth of the Don River; they were in possession of much of the Crimea; and they were clearly on their way to the priceless oil fields of the Caucasus at the eastern end of the

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

Black Sea. The Russian losses in men and materials and national resources were tremendous, and a Nazi spokesman in Berlin announced positively, apparently believing his own words, that Russia was through and would never rise again.

Nevertheless, on December 6, 1941, the Russians began a colossal counter-offensive whose success in the weeks that followed amazed the world and most of all the Nazis. Winter gave the Russians, fighting in their own land, more advantage and less disadvantage than it gave the Germans, and vast numbers of the bravest and best German soldiers had been put out of action to stay out; but there was more than weather and German losses behind the Russian success. The Bear was strong.

The beginning of the year 1942 found the menace to Leningrad, Moscow, and the Caucasus lessened; the German armies were checked, for the time being, along a 2000-mile front.

In the autumn of 1941 Great Britain and the United States sent special missions to Moscow to make specific plans for help to the Soviets. The physical obstacles to sending help in sufficient quantities were tremendous. Some equipment and supplies were already arriving by October.

During the German invasion of Soviet territory, Great Britain suffered less than before from air raids and gained time to make better preparations for defense and for further attacks on Germany.

GOVERNMENTS IN EXILE

The King of Norway, the Queen of the Netherlands, high-ranking Belgian officials, the King of Yugoslavia, the King of Greece, and General Charles de Gaulle of France — about these individuals were formed governments in exile designed to carry on in behalf of their people until the continent of Europe should be liberated. Two opposing groups — one of them sponsored by the U.S.S.R. — undertook to represent Poland.

THE ARBITRAMENT OF THE SWORD

Fighting men of the several conquered countries who had managed to escape or who were abroad at the time of their nations' disasters joined the British forces as individuals or in bodies of their own. General de Gaulle assembled formidable "Free French" forces which gave good account of themselves in Syria and Africa and later in France and Germany.

THE BRITISH AT BAY

With good reason, the British have always been alarmed when hostile forces have held ports on the English Channel or on the North Sea. It was thus in the days of Napoleon I and again in the days of Wilhelm II. Napoleon said of the Scheldt River, which flows out of France through Belgium and the Netherlands to the lower North Sea, "It is a pistol pointed at the heart of England."

When there is an enemy on the Channel the British put aside their traditional "muddling through" procedure and its exponents, and they raise their ablest men to political and military leadership. In May, 1940, when German forces invaded the Netherlands and Belgium, Great Britain changed her Prime Minister and policies with considerable determination and thoroughness. Neville Chamberlain, who had been a leading "appeaser" and who helped to put over the Munich Accord that dismembered Czechoslovakia, was replaced as Prime Minister by Winston Churchill, a man of tremendous energy, eloquence, experience, and determination. Laborite leaders were included in the Cabinet — Clement Attlee, Arthur Greenwood, and, as Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin; also Anthony Eden and Alfred Duff-Cooper, who had bitterly opposed Chamberlain's policies. Churchill rallied the support of the British people, who were determined to defend themselves to the utmost in case of invasion and to carry the war to the enemy so far as possible. The summer and fall of 1940 were very dark months for the British, who stolidly endured

devastating air raids, night after night, and who faced the possibility of starvation through the loss of food ships by submarine attacks.

The battle of France having been ended, the battle of Britain was on. In the latter part of 1940 the British Royal Air Force, inferior in numbers to the *Luftwaffe*, was able to defend the English shores reasonably well and also to destroy in French ports much shipping that the Germans had assembled, probably for a projected invasion of England. There are those who consider that the battle of Britain was won then. The Germans never again had so good an opportunity to undertake the invasion of England. It seems that France fell sooner than the Germans had expected, leaving them unprepared to follow up their victory immediately with an invasion of England.

At sea, from the beginning to the very end of the war, the battle of the Atlantic was being fought. German submarines and surface raiders and occasional formidable German warships attacked any vessel flying the British flag; also they attacked some neutral vessels, while neutrality continued to exist. If the Germans could really cut off Great Britain from her several life lines to parts of the Empire and to the United States, they felt certain that they could bring her to her knees. If the Germans could not bring down Britain, they could not win the war, could not master the world. The shade of Napoleon Bonaparte might have told them that if they did not already know it, but they did know it.

For a list of events of the war see pages 309 to 318.

OUR COUNTRY IN ACTION

Somewhere in the Scriptures occur these words: "For no man liveth to himself alone, and no man dieth to himself." Mankind has been slow to accept that truth, slower still to accept the truth that no nation liveth to itself alone.

FORMER AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WORLD AFFAIRS

Following the World War of 1914 to 1918 our citizens differed among themselves in their view of foreign affairs. There were three rather well-defined attitudes.

Some of us held that it is the obligation of our country to participate actively in international affairs in order to insure the peace of the world. President Woodrow Wilson was the outstanding representative of this group, which favored the adherence of the United States to the League of Nations and the World Court and believed in "collective action of a group of nations to maintain peace."

Others zealously held that the United States should withdraw from foreign affairs as much as possible and maintain its supposed traditional policy of isolation. These held that Europe and the Orient always were, and are, and will be in a bad state and that the United States could not improve matters by plunging into their troubles.

Probably a heavy majority of Americans favored a middle course, something between full participation in world affairs and complete isolation. They realized that the United States could not save the whole world in spite of itself. At the same time, they realized that we could not wholly withdraw from world affairs and live a self-sufficient independent existence. While paddling our own canoe we should have to take account of others traveling over the troubled waters, occasionally throwing a line to one in distress. If a storm were to come up things would be different again; and the storm came.

FACING THE REALITY OF WAR

Immediately following the invasion of Poland in September, 1939, the United States took measures to get about 100,000 citizens out of the war zones, to coöperate with Latin America for the defense of the Western Hemisphere, and to change our neutrality legislation.

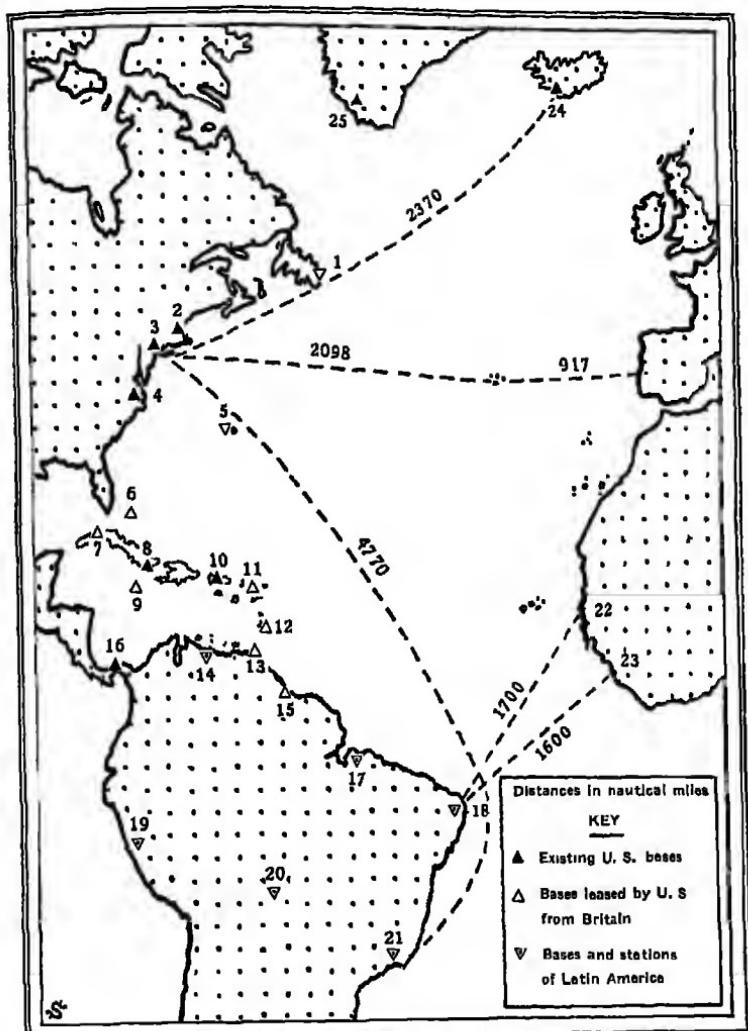
During the first six months of warfare in Europe there was general confidence among us in the ability of the Allies to carry on the war. Although our own defense preparations were increased, there was little feeling of immediate crisis. Business was stimulated by war orders; but many industries did not share this new — and necessarily false — war prosperity.

Upon the fall of France, the attitude of our people changed almost overnight. There came to be a lively sense of danger from Nazi aggressions; the question of Nazi designs and Nazi penetration in the Western Hemisphere loomed. The possibility of Great Britain's not surviving the air attacks and projected invasion alarmed us. We came to feel that it was necessary for Great Britain to survive if there was not to be a Nazi-dominated world; we would aid Great Britain in every possible way short of war to defeat Nazi ruthlessness. The hardening of American opinion was reflected in the various public-opinion polls and in the papers and magazines. At the same time some groups remained opposed to aid for Great Britain, in the hope that a course of complete neutrality might keep us out of the war.

The President was vigorously in favor of every possible measure for effective aid for Great Britain. By his direction, in August of 1940, the United States exchanged fifty over-age but still effective destroyers for a number of naval and air bases on British territory in the Western Hemisphere.

The National Guard was called for active duty. In September, 1940, for the first time in peace, a conscription act was passed to provide a large army. In place of business as usual plus defense efforts, the national program became defense first, with production for civilian needs limited according to defense needs. Direct control was extended over key raw materials. The Office of Production Management (OPM); the National Defense Mediation Board, to settle disputes between industry and labor; the Office of Price Administration; and other administrative and advisory boards were created.

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United States naval and military bases in the Atlantic area, as they were toward the close of 1941. The places keyed by numbers are as follows: 1 Newfoundland, 2 Boston, 3 New York, 4 Norfolk, 5 Bermuda, 6 Bahamas, 7 Havana, 8 Guantánamo, 9 Jamaica, 10 Puerto Rico, 11 Antigua, 12 St. Lucia, 13 Trinidad, 14 Puerto Cabello, 15 Georgetown, 16 Canal Zone, 17 Pará, 18 Natal, 19 Callao, 20 Ladario, 21 Rio de Janeiro, 22 Dakar (French), 23 Freetown (British), 24 Reykjavik, 25 Julianehaab

RUMORS OF WAR AND THE FACT OF WAR

In March, 1941, Congress passed and the President signed the Lease-Lend Bill (or the Lend-Lease Bill). The new law gave the President power to deliver war materials and supplies, on terms that he might arrange, to any country whose efforts would help to defend the United States. Billions of dollars were appropriated by Congress for defense efforts and for Lease-Lend materials for Great Britain and other nations, including Canada, China, and later Russia.

On March 7, 1941, the President proclaimed an extreme national emergency. Our new army, conscripted for one year, was held in service. Congress raised the limit for national indebtedness to 65 billion dollars. New Federal taxes were voted, including high income taxes for 1941. The prospects were for more and higher taxes and for a still greater national debt limit in this critical emergency. In the national shift to a war economy, tremendous difficulties arose, and there were bound to be friction and hardship in the process of such rapid change. In Congress the isolationists continued bitterly to attack the administration's foreign and defense policies until war actually came to us on December 7, 1941.

By the fall of 1941 United States defense production was beginning to be encouraging. Thereupon an epidemic of strikes in industries vital to defense, as in coal mining and the manufacture of airplanes, embarrassed our government and the people of our land and probably gave heart to the enemies of democracy.

The stationing of American troops in Iceland and Greenland and the protection by our army of merchant vessels for two thirds of the way across the Atlantic simplified the task of Great Britain in getting supplies from overseas. United States naval units coöperated closely in patrol duty with the British. Perhaps in part because of German concentration on the Russian campaign and in part because of greater British efficiency in defense measures, British ship losses were greatly reduced during the summer and fall of 1941. In November, Congress

Number of workers to supply one soldier

		<i>Number of workers to supply one soldier</i>
1861		1
1917		5
1942		18

Modern warfare is in truth total. Every civilian capable of doing so is required to contribute money or time, or both time and money; under conscription, the time of many men is taken, and the lives of some; long-range bombers bring the war home to civilian populations.

passed a bill to arm our merchantmen and a few days later passed another bill repealing the provision of our Neutrality Law of 1939 forbidding United States vessels to go into war-danger zones (page 276). The damaging of the United States destroyer *Kearny* and the loss of other vessels were accepted as part of the risk taken in protecting the deliveries of armament (assuredly contraband) and food to Great Britain. Thus we completed the cycle of neutrality. For limited purposes we remained legally neutral; for limited purposes we were at war with Germany and her allies by the middle of 1941. Such a status, however anomalous, was within the concept of international law; it was thus that we fought a limited war — a war of reprisal at sea — with France in 1798 and 1799.

The difficult international position of our country, in which we were for some purposes at peace and for some purposes at war, was clarified early on the morning of December 7, 1941.

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On that day, while negotiations with Japan were still technically in progress for a peaceful solution of the differences between the two nations, Japanese forces attacked Hawaii. Thus, without warning, in 1904 Japanese destroyers had torpedoed and sunk Russian warships in the harbor of Chemulpo, Korea, starting the Russo-Japanese War (page 266). We might well have remembered this in 1941. We learn from history that we *could* learn from history. Also, as a cynical philosopher observed long ago, "We learn from history that we *do not* learn from history."

THE ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL EIGHT POINTS

In August, 1941, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, with a group of British officials and officers, and President Roosevelt, with his group, met on shipboard in the Atlantic for a conference on war problems. There on August 14 the two leaders prepared and announced to the world a program of eight joint national aims in the then-existing world crisis. (Germany had already attacked Russia. Japan had not yet attacked us at Pearl Harbor.) This is the Roosevelt-Churchill program, which has come to be called the Atlantic Charter:

THE 8-POINT BOND OF DEMOCRACIES

The joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr Churchill, representing His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom; being met together, then deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

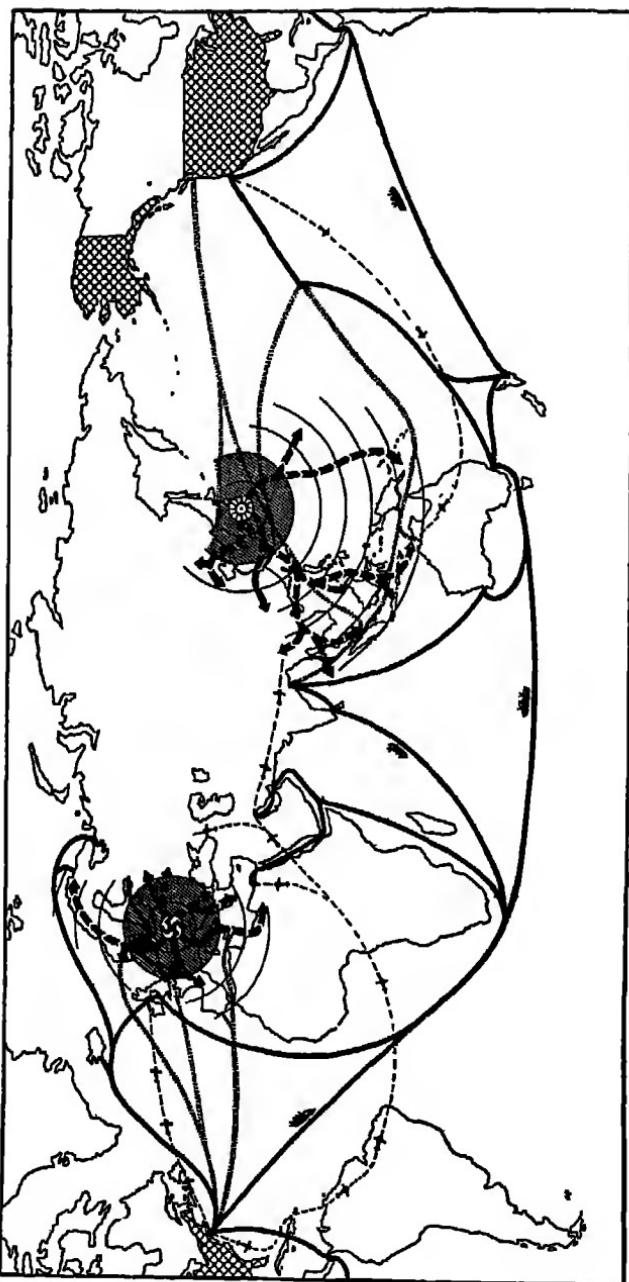
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3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.
6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. They believe that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

The eighth point of this program, calling for the disarmament of the nations guilty of armed aggression, was aimed primarily at Germany, though of necessity it applied also to her allies, and especially to Italy and Japan. The other points present a democratic program for peace, dependent on achievement of the eighth point. It is interesting to compare the Eight Points

U. S. War Department

The position of the Axis Powers at the time of their greatest success, about May 6, 1942 (the date of the fall of Corregidor, last American stronghold in the Philippines). The heavy arrows with broken shafts represent Axis drives. The broad dotted lines represent shipping routes cut by the Axis forces. The long black lines represent sea routes used by the United Nations. Air-supply routes of the United Nations are represented by the figures of planes.



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with the Fourteen Points (page 75) drawn up by President Wilson during the First World War.

THE DECLARATION OF WASHINGTON

On January 1, 1942, while Winston Churchill was at Washington, an agreement was entered into and a declaration was made by all the national governments then at war with Germany and any or all of her allies. These nations subscribed to the Atlantic Charter; each pledged all its resources for use against the nations with which it was at war (Russia was not then at hostilities with Japan); each pledged that it would not make a separate peace with the enemy nations.

In this Declaration of Washington, the nations whose representatives signed the document were referred to as the "United Nations." This seems to have been the first official use of that name. It is interesting in view of the fact that the world organization that came to be formed in 1945 was at first called "The United Nations Organization"; later, simply "The United Nations."

THE FIGHT TO THE FINISH

The attack on Pearl Harbor instantly forced a two-ocean war upon the United States. In effect, our country had two wars on its hands: one in and across the Pacific, with Japan; the other in and across the Atlantic, with Germany and Italy and their satellites. In the Pacific our principal fleet had received a paralyzing blow. We were not by any means prepared to push the war immediately and effectively in both directions. Courageously and wisely, as the outcome showed, our leaders chose to fight a holding war in the Pacific, first giving major attention to the European members of the Axis. This policy fitted in with the plans and the needs of our allies, particularly Great Britain and Russia (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). If they should fall in the fight, it would be very difficult for us to win;

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if they should succeed, Japan could assuredly be dealt with. However sound this reasoning, many of our citizens became jittery over the danger of Japanese attacks upon our West Coast.

THE ROADS THAT LED TO BERLIN

On June 21, 1942, German and Italian forces under Marshal Erwin Rommel captured Tobruk in eastern Libya, not far from the Egyptian border (page 287). They swept on to within 60 miles of Alexandria, menacing the Suez Canal. On October 23, 1942, a British army, partly American equipped and supplied, defeated Rommel in an extremely important battle at El Alamein in Egypt. This British army was commanded by General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery. From El Alamein Montgomery pushed steadily westward.

On November 7, 1942, a huge fleet landed American and British forces, under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, at points in Morocco and Algeria. Vichy French forces at Casablanca and at Oran offered some resistance; but within a week the Vichy official in control in Africa, Admiral François Darlan, entered into a working arrangement with the Allies, and many French North African troops went over to them. Eisenhower's forces, with at least one brief setback, fought their way eastward until they joined Montgomery's westward-moving army. The remnants of the German and Italian forces were trapped and captured at Cape Bon, in Tunisia, on May 12, 1943.

Cape Bon is the point of Africa that lies nearest to Sicily, extending like a finger toward that island. On July 10, 1943, Allied forces from Africa attacked Sicily, thus beginning the invasion of Hitler's "Fortress Europe." Early in September, forces under General Montgomery moved from Sicily into the southernmost peninsula of Italy, and forces under the American General Mark W. Clark established a beachhead at Salerno, a little south of Naples. On September 8, the Italian Royal

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Government surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. However, German forces still held the upper hand in the greater part of Italy, including all the principal cities of the peninsula.

Mussolini had been forced to resign as premier, following the invasion of Sicily. He was succeeded by Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who arranged the surrender to the Allies. Mussolini was held prisoner for a time, then he was "kidnapped" by German paratroopers and taken within the German lines. Under German protection he set up a puppet Fascist government which nobody respected.

American and other forces slowly fought their way to Rome, which they took on June 4, 1944. Thence they moved steadily northward against obstinate German resistance in difficult mountainous country. German resistance in northern Italy crumbled in April, 1945. Then Italian partisans — patriot anti-Fascist guerrillas — captured Mussolini and a number of his principal henchmen. They conducted a very hasty so-called trial, and then, on April 28, 1945, they shot all the prisoners. The bodies of Mussolini and others were carted to Milan, where the former dictator had founded the Fascist party in 1922. There the bodies were publicly exhibited and subjected to indignities.

If the war had continued much longer, after the Allies had won control of practically all of Italy, doubtless Allied troops would have somehow crossed the Alps, heading for Berlin. And Berlin was reached from Italy — by American and British bombers, which made shuttle trips between Italy and England, bombing Berlin and other enemy points, coming and going.

On June 6, 1944, two days after Rome was taken, huge Allied forces moving across the Channel from England, descended upon the coast of Normandy. General Eisenhower was in supreme command. Until the latter part of July, the Allies were occupied with securing their position and enlarging their holdings in Normandy. Then they broke through the German lines at St. Lo, and soon they cleared most of northern France of

Germans. Paris was liberated on August 28, 1944. On August 15, the Allies invaded southern France from the Mediterranean. In September they began the invasion and liberation of Belgium. The capture of the Channel coast freed the British of the scourge of rocket bombs and robot planes, which the Germans had for some time been directing across the Channel.

In October, 1944, the Allies began to break into Germany. In December the Germans made one last mighty counteroffensive in the famous battle of the Bulge. With that thrust broken, the Allies swept into Germany. All the while, American, British, and other air forces kept hammering at the Germans everywhere, destroying military installations, railroads, and whole cities.

In 1942 the Germans made tremendous and desperate efforts to take the Russian manufacturing city of Stalingrad, on the Volga River some 200 miles from the Caspian Sea. By the close of the year the Germans had clearly been defeated at Stalingrad. For two years after the delivery of Stalingrad the Russians pushed the Germans before them, along the whole immense eastern front. They cleared the territory of the U.S.S.R., Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, much of the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, and Austria of Germans. They overran eastern and much of southern Germany. On April 21, 1945, Russian armies stood before Berlin, which they took after 12 days' fighting. On April 25 American military units made contact with Russian units within Germany. On April 30, Adolf Hitler committed suicide within one of the last defended shelters in Berlin.

On May 6, 1945, members of the German High Command signed documents to the effect that their country and all its armed forces surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had died less than a month earlier, on April 12, 1945. The victory over Germany was announced over the radio by President Harry S. Truman on May 8, the date set for the surrender to become effective. The

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new President cautioned his countrymen that victory had not yet been completed, that Japan must still be overcome.

THE ROAD TO TOKYO

The Japanese, after Pearl Harbor, struck southward from their homeland. Immediately they attacked the Philippines. Their planes destroyed the greater part of the American air forces there, catching them on the ground as at Pearl Harbor. The defense of Batan Peninsula by Filipinos and Americans was dramatic and heroic. On May 6, 1942, Corregidor, the little island at the entrance to Manila Bay, the last important defensive position in the Philippines, was surrendered to the Japanese. By that time they had taken Guam, Hong Kong, the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, most of the East Indies, the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, Burma, and Thailand (Siam). They had things their own way in China. In the direction of Hawaii they had taken Wake Island, and in the month of June they were to take the islands of Attu and Kiska in the Aleutian group. In the summer of 1942 the Japanese threatened Australia. At the same time the Germans were confidently attacking Stalingrad, and German and Italian forces, invading Egypt, menaced Suez at the principal crossroads of the Old World. It was the time of highest tide for the Axis, a time of low tide for the Allies. But tides turn.

A major Japanese attack was decisively beaten back in the naval battle of Midway, in June of 1942. Meanwhile, in Australia and New Zealand men and materials were being collected — chiefly American, but with the Australians and the New Zealanders contributing their fair share and more. General Douglas MacArthur, who had been in command in the Philippines, was in supreme command in Australia. When the Allies were strong enough to attack the Japanese, they did so. On August 7, American forces attacked the Japanese on the island of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Group. Battles by land and sea, for the control of the island, raged for seven months

before the Japanese were finally overcome. In 1943-44 there were battles for the possession of many islands and parts of islands, as Tarawa, Saipan, and New Guinea. Guam was recovered, as were Attu and Kiska, in the Aleutians.

In October, 1944, forces under General MacArthur landed in the Philippines, and on July 5, 1945, the general announced that the Islands had been cleared of Japanese. Iwo Jima, a tiny but important island south of Tokyo, and Okinawa, south and somewhat west of Japan proper, were taken after desperate fighting. Superfortresses and other planes, largely based on these two islands, hammered points in the principal islands of Japan. The Japanese navy had been reduced almost to helplessness by losses in many battles, as those off Midway and off the islands of the Philippine Archipelago. American warships entered Tokyo Bay, sank the Japanese warships they found there, and bombarded points on the shore.

On July 26, 1945, in a proclamation from Potsdam, Germany, the United States, Great Britain, and China called upon Japan to surrender if she wished to avoid complete destruction. The demand was ignored. On August 6 the most terrible weapon ever devised was employed against Japan. An atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The greater part of the city disappeared instantly in a cloud of dust and smoke that rose to the stratosphere. On August 7 Russia declared war on Japan. On August 9 an atomic bomb — the second to be used — was dropped on Nagasaki, with results comparable with those at Hiroshima. On August 10, the Japanese offered to surrender, but asked that their emperor might be allowed to remain on the throne. The request was granted for the time being, but without any guarantee for the future. On August 14 the Japanese government announced the unconditional surrender of the country. On September 2 (Tokyo time) the formal ceremony of the surrender of Japan to the Allies took place on board the battleship *Missouri*, in Tokyo Bay.

We have been interested in following the course of events that led to the renewal of world warfare in 1939 and to our involvement therein in 1942. We have noted in a very general way how the war developed and how it was brought to an end. We have not been concerned, in these particular studies of ours, with the details of campaigns and battles, with the part played by different fighting units, with the skill of one commander and another, with the war effort of our country on the home front, or with many other matters that have great interest in themselves. We have been chiefly concerned about the late war as furnishing part of the background for world events of the present time and of the future.

In Paris, on May 8, 1945, General Eisenhower issued a victory order of the day and proclamation to the men and women of the Allied Expeditionary Forces. His observations on the task concluded and the problems ahead are worthy of note by every citizen of each of the Allied nations. In part he said:

Full victory in Europe has been attained. Working and fighting together in a single and indestructible partnership, you have achieved a perfection in unification of air, ground, and naval power that will stand as a model in our time.

The route you have traveled through hundreds of miles is marked by the graves of former comrades. From them have been exacted the ultimate sacrifice: Blood of many nations — American, British, Canadian, French, Polish, and others — has helped to gain the victory. Each of the fallen was a member of the team to which you belong, bound together by a common love of liberty and a refusal to submit to enslavement.

No monument of stone, no memorial of whatever magnitude, could so well express our respect and veneration for their sacrifice as would perpetuation of the spirit of comradeship in which they died.

As we celebrate victory in Europe, let us remind ourselves that common problems of the immediate and distant future can be best solved in the same conceptions of coöperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom as have made

this expeditionary force such a mighty engine of righteous destruction.

Let us have no part in the profitless quarrels in which other men will inevitably engage, as to what country and what service won the European War. Every man, every woman, and every nation here represented has served according to his or her ability and the efforts of each have contributed to the outcome.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What was the chief feature of the Neutrality Act of 1935? Did the duties of neutrality, as understood in international law, require this?
2. What was the chief feature of the Neutrality Act of 1937? Did the duties of neutrality require this?
3. In November, 1941, what did Congress do, in effect, with reference to then existing neutrality legislation?
4. What was the last area that Hitler annexed, or reannexed, to Germany without recourse to war?
5. What land did Mussolini annex to Italy in 1939?
6. On what areas did Hitler have designs in 1939?
7. Mention the successive positions that Hitler took with reference to Russia.
8. What is the name of Hitler's book? Where was the book written? For what purpose was it written?
9. What was the attitude of other nations generally toward Russia, following the Bolshevik revolution?
10. How did Hitler get a free hand on the eastern borders of Germany?
11. What happened to Danzig in 1939? to Poland?
12. What has been the position of the Irish Free State within the British Empire? with reference to the war?
13. What was the *Sitzkrieg*?
14. Mention several respects in which the war that began in 1914 and the war that began in 1939 differed greatly from all earlier wars.
15. What important powers that opposed Germany in World War I became military allies of Germany? Why did these powers take sides as they did, each time?
16. Mention a number of ways in which World War II differed from World War I.

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17. Name the small nations that had frontage on the Baltic Sea, and tell the present status of each.
18. Name the countries that occupied territory in the Balkan Peninsula in the 1920's, and tell the present status of each.
19. What countries came under German domination during Hitler's régime?
20. Tell briefly about the *Blitzkrieg* of the earlier part of 1940.
21. What did the Free French accomplish?
22. Why was the control of Libya of special importance in World War II? Study the map for your answer.
23. What was the situation with reference to the war, just before the surrender of Germany? of Russia? of Turkey? of Switzerland? of Spain? of Ethiopia? of the Irish Free State? of Italy? (See *The World Almanac* for 1946, pages 40-42.)
24. What did Napoleon I find out about Russia that Hitler might well have taken into account for his own good?
25. What did Napoleon I find out about Great Britain that Hitler might well have taken into account?
26. How did the two bicycle makers of Dayton revolutionize warfare?
27. Note briefly some of the successive stages of majority opinion in the United States, touching the war and our government's attitude toward it.
28. What did the Lend-Lease Bill provide for, principally?
29. What was the "destroyer deal"?
30. Compare the opening of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 with the beginning of warfare between our country and Japan in 1941.
31. What are the Eight Points of the Atlantic Charter? Let the class undertake to list them.
32. What were the three important features of the declaration that was made at Washington under date of January 1, 1942?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

Each of the topics that follow may be taken for special study by two or more students who will make a report to the class.

1. The story of the Anti-Communist Pact, or pacts; of the present Communist International, if one exists.
2. The relations between Czarist Russia and the United States, especially during the American Civil War and in 1867.

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3. The successive forms of government in France (with their dates) since the time of the American Revolution.
4. The place of emperor worship in Japan, before the surrender of Japan and after.
5. Find out about the totals of casualties for the different belligerents in World War I. Compare them with casualties in World War II. There is matter on these points in *The World Almanac* for 1946, on pages 44 and 137.



"The nightmare passes," a cartoon by David Low. Copyright all countries
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WORLD EVENTS, 1939-1945

1939	
April 6	Poland receives French and British guarantees of aid in the event that her independence is threatened.
April 15	President Roosevelt appeals to Mussolini and Hitler to make new ten-year non-aggression pacts to help insure peace.
April 28	Germany demands the return of Danzig and a rail and motor road through the Polish Corridor to East Prussia.
May 3	The Soviet government removes Maxim Litvinov from the Foreign Office and replaces him with Viacheslav Molotov. This action marks a change in foreign policy, away from cooperation with Western democracies.
May 22	Germany and Italy sign a ten-year military pact.
August 16	Germany makes new demands on Poland.
August 23	A German-Soviet non-aggression pact is signed by Foreign Ministers von Ribbentrop for Germany and Molotov for the Soviet Union.
August 30	Poland announces general mobilization
August 31	Poland informs Germany that she accepts British proposals for negotiating their dispute
	Germany closes all lines of communication with Poland, Britain and France begin mobilization.
September 1	Hitler declares that force will be met with force. The German army invades Poland without any declaration of war. Germany annexes the Free City of Danzig.
September 3	Great Britain and France demand an immediate reply to their ultimatum to Germany on withdrawal from Poland's territory. The German government refuses to reply to the ultimatum. Britain and France announce that they are at war with Germany, and war begins on the western front. The British liner <i>Athenia</i> is torpedoed and sunk, 250 miles northwest of Ireland.
	The Germans cut off the Polish Corridor.
September 16	Soviet troops invade eastern Poland.
	The Germans, already at Warsaw, demand the surrender of the city.
September 22	Germany and the Soviet Union announce the division of Polish territory.
September 27	Warsaw surrenders
September 29	A ten-year pact between the Soviet Union and Estonia gives the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and air-fields in return for Soviet protection. (Latvia and Lithuania sign similar pacts by October 10.)
	Great Britain in a White Paper on the origin of the war states that all machinery of the League of Nations for the preservation of peace has collapsed.
October 7	British troops begin to arrive in France.

1939	
October 19	Great Britain, France, and Turkey sign a treaty of mutual assistance against aggression.
November 26	The Germans mass air attacks on the British fleet in the North Sea. The Soviet Union asserts that the Finns fired on Russian troops, and demands that Finnish troops withdraw from the border.
November 29	The Soviet Union breaks off diplomatic relations with Finland.
November 30	Soviet troops invade Finland.
December 3	A meeting of the League of Nations is called, on the appeal of Finland, to consider the Soviet-Finnish war.
December 13	British cruisers cripple the German pocket battleship <i>Graf Spee</i> near Montevideo. The <i>Graf Spee</i> is scuttled after leaving harbor on December 17.
1940	
January 13-14	Belgium calls all soldiers back from leave.
March 1	Soviet armies are within a mile of Viborg, Finland.
March 6	Soviet peace terms are given to Finland through Sweden.
March 12	The Soviet Union and Finland sign a peace treaty, by which Finland yields to Russia territory along her southern border, giving Russia command of the head of the Gulf of Finland.
March 16	President Roosevelt, in a radio broadcast, gives his views on the basic terms for a sound peace.
March 18	Hitler and Mussolini have a conference at the Brenner Pass (on the Italian-German border).
March 21	Paul Reynaud takes office as Premier of France.
March 28	The Anglo-French Supreme War Council declares the war and post-war unity of the two countries.
April 2	The British announce an intensified blockade against Germany.
April 6	Norway declares her intention to maintain neutrality.
April 8	Sweden declares neutrality.
April 9	Germany takes Denmark without fighting. German troops land in Norway and fight to overcome Norwegian resistance.
	Allied and German vessels fight along the Norwegian coast.
	President Roosevelt extends war zone (from which American merchant vessels are excluded under the Neutrality Act of 1939) to include the coast of Norway.
May 2	Prime Minister Chamberlain announces that the British have withdrawn from southern Norway.
May 10	Germany invades the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.
May 11	Britain occupies Iceland. Neville Chamberlain resigns, and Winston Churchill becomes Prime Minister of Great Britain.

1940	
May 17	The Germans attack all along their western front; they break through the Belgian-French border.
May 20	The Germans drive toward Paris and push 300,000 British troops toward the Channel, along the Belgian-French border.
May 21	The Germans capture Amiens and Arras, and reach Abbéville on the Channel coast.
May 28	King Leopold surrenders the Belgian army.
May 30-31	The British evacuate Dunkerque.
June 4	The Germans capture Dunkerque.
June 9	German troops are within 35 miles of Paris.
June 10	Italy declares war against France and Great Britain.
June 14	The Germans occupy Paris.
June 16	Paul Reynaud resigns as Premier of France, and Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain succeeds him.
June 17	France asks for the German peace terms.
June 20	The Canadian Parliament passes an emergency conscription bill.
June 22-24	France signs an armistice with Germany and Italy. The battle of the Atlantic begins in earnest, the Germans attempting to sink every British vessel afloat.
	General Charles de Gaulle establishes a Free French organization in London to carry on war.
June 27	Rumania cedes Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union.
July 3	Part of the French fleet is destroyed by the British at Oran in Algeria.
	King Carol of Rumania under pressure makes pro-German appointments.
July 17	Francisco Franco, dictator of Spain, warns Great Britain that the Spaniards want Gibraltar.
July 21-30	The Havana Convention, being the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the American republics; the Act of Havana, for hemisphere solidarity and defense.
August 11	German air raids on Great Britain are intensified. The British increase their attacks on German-held territory.
September 3	President Roosevelt announces the exchange of fifty over-age destroyers for leases of bases on British territory in the Western Hemisphere.
	Very heavy bombing of London and other cities in Great Britain continues.
September 11	The British attack German vessels in the Channel.
	Churchill warns of invasion attempts.
September 17	Storms in the Channel damage and scatter German barges and supply ships.
	The Italians, in a drive into Egypt through Libya, pass Sidi Barrani, 55 miles within the Egyptian border.

1940	
September 27	Japan signs a military alliance with Germany and Italy.
October 10	German troops move into Rumania.
October 12	Bulgaria orders partial mobilization.
October 12	Soviet forces are reported concentrating on the Rumanian border
October 28	Italian forces invade Greece.
	The Greeks push the Italians back and carry the fighting into Albania.
November 14	Coventry, in England, is devastated by German bombers
November 17	British naval units bombard Italian Somaliland, and British air forces attack Italian bases in Africa
November 18	The Royal Air Force attacks Hamburg; the Germans bomb Southampton.
	Free French forces of General de Gaulle are active in French Africa
November 21	British and Italian planes fight in Libya.
	The Greeks press into Albania.
December 15	The British drive the Italians back into Libya. The Greeks drive the Italians farther back in Albania.
1941	
January 11	German planes appear in the Mediterranean.
February 16	The Italians evacuate their last post in the Sudan
March 19	London has the heaviest air raid of the year, so far.
March 25	The Germans extend the war zone to Greenland, including British-held Iceland
April 3	The British retreat in Libya and advance in Ethiopia.
April 6	German forces begin fighting in Yugoslavia and Greece
April 27	The Germans enter Athens
May 15	The British strengthen their forces at Singapore.
	The British declare Syria (a French mandate) to be enemy-occupied.
May 21	German parachute troops begin an attack on Crete and gain full control of the island within ten days
May 24	The British battleship <i>Hood</i> is sunk between Greenland and Iceland.
May 27	The German battleship <i>Bismarck</i> is sunk west of Brest by the British.
May 31	Resistance in Iraq ends, and the British enter Baghdad
June 8-13	The British and the Free French take over Syria
June 22	Germany invades the Soviet Union, Russian troops retreat.
	After the German invasion of Russia begins, air raids on Great Britain are greatly reduced
	The Royal Air Force continues pounding German-occupied territory and German industrial centers
June 29	The Finns attack the Russians
July 3	The principal remaining Italian commander in Ethiopia surrenders.

1941	
July 12	A German air raid damages the Suez Canal.
July 24	The Russians hold the German forces in check; there is heavy fighting around Smolensk.
August 14	A Joint Declaration of war and peace aims is made at a meeting on the Atlantic Ocean by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill (called the Eight-Point Program; also the Atlantic Charter).
August 24	The British bomb wide areas on the hostile coasts and also German industrial centers; raids occur almost nightly. The Russians destroy the dam and the immense hydroelectric plant on the Dnieper River in the Ukraine, to prevent the Germans from taking them over.
August 25-28	British and Russian troops enter Iran; a new pro-British government of Iran orders resistance to end.
September 19	German forces enter Kiev.
September 28	The Russians report heavy German losses near Leningrad.
October 7	Finland reports to Britain that she will continue fighting Russia.
November 10	General Weygand, French commander in North Africa, "retires."
November 13	A British airplane carrier, the <i>Royal Oak</i> , sinks near Gibraltar.
November 23	There is hard fighting in Libya, the British take Bardia. In Russia the Germans capture Rostov in the Crimea.
December 6	Great Russian offensive against whole German line begins.
December 7	The Japanese attack Pearl Harbor. Japanese attacks on the Philippines, on Guam, on Midway and Wake Islands, and on British Far Eastern possessions follow within twenty-four hours.
December 8	The United States Congress declares a state of war with Japan. The Senate vote is 82-0; the House vote, 388-1.
December 11	Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD WAR THAT
BEGAN IN 1939**

1939	
September 8	President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaims a limited national emergency.
September 21	A special session of Congress is called to repeal the arms embargo in the Neutrality Act.
September 23-October 3	A conference of American foreign ministers meets at Panama to consider New World neutrality. It makes the Declaration of Panama, forbidding hostile acts within 300 miles of the shores of any of the American republics.
November 4	The President declares that American merchant vessels must stay out of the combat area in the European war.

1940	
January 15	The Permanent Pan-American Neutrality Committee is organized in Rio de Janeiro.
February 13	The lending power of the Export-Import Bank is increased; a loan to Finland is allowed.
April 5	The largest peacetime naval supply bill is passed by Congress.
May 16	The reciprocal-trade program is extended three years.
June 20	The President asks Congress for defense appropriations of more than a billion dollars.
June 24	The President nominates Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War and Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy.
July 11	The Republican National Convention opens in Philadelphia.
July 15	It nominates Wendell L. Willkie for President and Senator Charles McNary for Vice President.
July 25	The Two-Ocean Navy Act is passed.
August 16	The Democratic National Convention opens in Chicago. It nominates President Roosevelt for a third term and Henry A. Wallace for Vice President.
August 18	The President and Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada decide on a joint defense board for the United States and Canada.
August 28	The Congress passes and the President signs the National Guard mobilization bill.
September 1	The President calls 60,000 National Guardsmen to active service for one year.
September 2	The President calls for national unity for "total defense."
September 6	The Congress passes a \$5,000,000,000 defense bill.
September 14	The Congress passes the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Act, the first peacetime conscription in our history.
September 24	An executive order creates the Defense Communications Board, linking radio, wire, and cable in case of emergency.
September 27	The Senate ratifies the Act of Havana, intended, among other purposes, to block the transfer of any European possessions in the Western Hemisphere to other European powers.
October 22	The President creates the Priorities Board.
October 24	The War Department announces the enlargement of military forces in the Philippines.
December 30	The President creates the Office of Production Management (OPM), with William S. Knudsen as chairman.
1941	
January 24	Lord Halifax arrives as the new British Ambassador.
February 3	The Senate approves appropriations to build 200 cargo vessels.

1941	
February 10	The Senate confirms the appointment of John G Winant as Ambassador to Great Britain.
February 14	The State Department advises Americans to leave the Orient.
February 15	The Senate passes a bill to increase the United States debt limit to \$65,000,000,000
March 11	Congress passes the Lease-Lend Act
March 12	The President asks for \$7,000,000,000 for the Lease-Lend program.
March 19	The President creates the National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB) to settle strikes in defense industries.
March 20	Congress passes an appropriation of \$3,950,000,000 for building naval and home defenses.
March 24	New naval defense areas are specified for Alaska.
March 30	Italian and German vessels in United States harbors are seized by the government. Danish vessels also are taken over.
April 11	The Office of Price Administration is created, headed by Leon Henderson.
April 17	It is announced that the automobile industry will cut production 29 per cent on August 1.
April 26	The United States Navy is ordered to extend its patrol far out into the Atlantic to protect shipping to Great Britain.
May 9	The Red Sea area is declared no longer in the combat zone; United States vessels deliver goods there to the British.
June 2	The President signs the Mandatory Priorities Act.
June 6	The President signs the Ship Seizure Act, which permits the taking over of foreign vessels in American ports.
June 13	The War Department requests a 50 per cent cut in automobile output.
June 19	The Office of Production Management (OPM) orders rubber rationing.
June 27	Congress appropriates more than \$10,000,000,000 for the army.
July 18	The President announces that the United States will keep sea lanes open to Iceland.
August 1	OPM orders a stop to all raw-silk processing.
August 3	Secretary of the Interior Ickes orders gasoline stations in Eastern states placed on a twelve-hour day. The order is afterward revoked.
August 11	The President sets up a system of control over installment selling.
August 12	Congress passes the bill extending army service for conscripted men to two and a half years.
August 18	The President reports to Congress on his Atlantic meeting with Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain. A census of foreign-owned property is ordered.

1941	
August 29	W. Averell Harriman is named as head of a mission to go to Russia for the purpose of studying Soviet needs, in co-operation with a British mission.
September 11	The President announces that the navy is ordered to destroy German or Italian commerce raiders in American defensive waters.
September 17	United States army units are in Iceland. Secretary Knox states that the navy is escorting convoys.
October 6	Wendell L. Willkie calls on the Republican party to lead the fight for the repeal of the Neutrality Law
October 9	The Supplies Priorities Allocation Board (SPAB) bans unessential building.
October 17	The United States destroyer <i>Kearny</i> is torpedoed and badly damaged off Iceland
October 24	Secretary Knox declares that the Far East situation is strained.
October 28	There is a new Lease-Lend appropriation of \$5,985,000,000.
October 31	The United States destroyer <i>Reuben James</i> is torpedoed and sunk near Iceland.
November 5	The United States and Canada form a Joint Defense Production Committee.
November 14	President Roosevelt orders the withdrawal of United States marines from China.
November 17	Saburo Kurusu, special envoy from Japan, is received by President Roosevelt
November 19	Restrictions are removed by Congress from the Neutrality Act.
November 26	The State Department sends a note to the Japanese government, stating the basis for a general settlement (Information not released to the press until December 7)
December 6	President Roosevelt sends a personal note to the Emperor of Japan.
December 7	The Japanese government reply to the United States note states that clearly there is no basis for compromise of the conflicting views
	A Japanese attack on the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii, begins the war between the United States and Japan.
December 8	The Congress of the United States declares the existence of a state of war with Japan since December 7
December 11	Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.
1942	
January 1	The Declaration of Washington embodies the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter, or Eight-Point Program of August, 1941. To this all the nations at war with Germany and her allies subscribe.
January 2	Manila is occupied by the Japanese.
January 15-28	A convention is held at Rio de Janeiro, being the third meeting of the foreign ministers of the American republics.

1942	
April 9	Bataan falls to the Japanese.
April 18	Doolittle bombers raid Tokyo.
May 4-8	Japanese defeated in naval battle of the Coral Sea.
May 6	Corregidor falls to the Japanese.
June 21	Rommel's forces capture Tobruk.
August 7	Americans land on Guadalcanal.
August 19	Raid on Dieppe by British and Canadians
October 23	Montgomery defeats Rommel at El Alamein
November 9	Allies under Eisenhower land great forces in Morocco and Algeria.
December 13	British retake Tobruk.
1943	
January 13-24	Roosevelt and Churchill confer at Casablanca.
January 18	Russians break the siege of Stalingrad.
February 21	Americans lose Casserine Pass, Tunisia, retake it February 25.
March 1-4	Japanese defeated in naval battle in Bismarck Sea.
May 12	Axis remnants captured at Cape Bon, Tunisia
May 30	Last Japanese resistance overcome on Attu.
July 9	Allied forces invade Sicily.
July 25	Mussolini ousted. Badoglio Premier of Italy.
August 1	American <i>Liberators</i> bomb oil refineries at Ploesti, Rumania.
August 24	Roosevelt and Churchill meet at Quebec (first of two meetings there).
September 3	Allies invade Italy from Sicily.
September 8	Italian royal government surrenders unconditionally.
October 1	Allies take Naples.
October 13	Italian royal government declares war on Germany.
November 20	Americans land on Tarawa
November 22-26	Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek confer at Cairo
November 26-December 1	Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin confer at Teheran.
1944	
January 22	Allies land near Anzio, Italy.
January 31	Americans invade Marshall Islands.
May 10	Russians retake Sevastopol
May 18	Allies take Monte Cassino.
June 4	Allies take Rome
June 6	Allies under Eisenhower land in Normandy.
June 15	Americans land on Saipan.
June 16	First robot-plane bombs fall in Britain.
June 18-19	First battle of the Philippine Sea. Japanese defeated.
July 7	B 29's bomb Japan.
July 18	Americans break through German lines at St. Lo.

August 10	Guam retaken by Americans.
August 15	Allies land in southern France
August 25	Paris freed.
September 11-16	Second Quebec meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill.
September 24	Russians enter Czechoslovakia and Hungary.
October 4	British invade Greece.
October 19	Americans under MacArthur land in Philippines
October 24-25	Second battle of the Philippine Sea; Japanese naval strength crushed.
November 15	Mass drive on Germany starts under Eisenhower
December 20	Von Rundstedt begins the battle of the Bulge, last great German counterattack
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1945	
January 15	Germans in full retreat from the Bulge.
January 17	Russians take Warsaw.
February 3-11	Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin confer at Yalta in the Crimea
February 13	Russians take Budapest.
February 19	Americans land on Iwo Jima Win complete control, March 17.
February 21-March 9	Inter-American Conference at Mexico City.
February 23	American forces enter Manila
March 8	Americans cross Rhine on Remagen bridge.
March 29	Frankfort-on-the-Main taken by Patton's forces.
April 1	Americans land on Okinawa.
April 12	President Franklin D. Roosevelt dies. Harry S. Truman, President.
April 21	Russians enter Berlin.
April 21	American and British forces take Bologna.
April 26	Russian and American troops join at Torgau, Germany.
May 8	Formalities of unconditional surrender of Germany completed and announced.
June 21	Last organized Japanese resistance on Okinawa overcome.
July 5	Last organized resistance by Japanese in Philippines overcome
July 17-August 2	Berlin-Potsdam Conference. Harry S. Truman; Winston Churchill, succeeded during the conference by Clement R. Attlee; and Joseph Stalin meet.
July 26	From Potsdam, Germany, the United States, Great Britain, and China call upon the Japanese to surrender.
August 6	First atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.
August 8	Russia (U.S.S.R.) declares war on Japan
August 8	Second atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki
August 14	Unconditional surrender announced by Japan.
September 2	Formal surrender made by Japanese on battleship <i>Missouri</i> in Tokyo Bay.

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WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

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It is more difficult to organize peace than to win a war;
but the fruits of victory will be lost if the peace is not well
organized. ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.)

War will never yield but to the principles of universal
justice and love. WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

CHAPTER 13

COÖPERATION IN WARTIME

*I*N WORLD WAR I the Allied and Associated Powers (the European Allies and the United States) cooperated effectively, and they won a great victory over the Central Powers. In World War II the Allies (including the United States, but with Italy and Japan in the enemy group) again coöperated effectively and again won a victory, which was complete on the land, at sea, and in the air. Coöperation in war can be highly successful, because the peoples see clearly the absolute necessity for working together. With missiles falling among civilian populations as well as on military objectives, even the most unimaginative persons realize what may be the results of failure.

THE PRINCIPAL ALLIES OF WORLD WAR II

When the Germans attacked Poland in 1939, they knew that they would immediately have Great Britain and France to fight. When Poland was conquered, the principal Allies opposed to Germany were Great Britain and France. France was beaten and the Italians — under Mussolini — joined the Germans, to be in at the kill. The Germans attacked Russia; and the British gladly made common cause with this huge ally that Hitler had given them. The Japanese attacked our country, and all three of the principal members of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis were involved. The Japanese action necessarily brought the United States into the war against Germany and Italy; brought Great

Britain into the war against Japan. The Japanese had long been fighting the Chinese. So our country found itself with a set of major allies, chosen for it by circumstances.

Newspaper men and others came to refer to the United States, Great Britain, and Russia (or the U.S.S.R., or the Soviet Union) as the "Big Three"; to the Big Three plus China, as the "Big Four"; to the Big Four plus "Free France," as the "Big Five." Commonly, also, the men at the heads of the governments of the Big Five were referred to in the same manner.

THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN BROUGHT TOGETHER: THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

When the leaders of Germany and Italy and Japan openly declared themselves and their countries to be opposed to democracy wherever it might exist, they necessarily lost the good will of the people and the government of our country. When Germany and Italy went to war with Great Britain and France, the sympathies of the great majority of our citizens were with the British and the French as the upholders of the cause of democracy — our cause. When the Third French Republic had been brought almost to its knees by the *Blitzkrieg* of the earlier part of 1940, the British government offered the French leaders a union with Great Britain, to be called "The Anglo-French Nation." The French leaders refused and France fell, although a "Free France" was maintained under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle, with headquarters in London. The Free French controlled some of the outlying French possessions.

From June, 1940, until June, 1941, when Hitler brought Russia into the war against Germany, Great Britain with the British Dominions (but not Eire), British India, and the British colonies bore the brunt of the war. England (particularly London) and Scotland were *blitzed* from the air, and there was fear that the Germans might launch a huge invasion of Britain from the French side of the Channel, which might be

successful. Then the British government assured our government that Great Britain would never surrender; that even if Britain were overrun by the enemy the British government would find refuge in Canada, that the British fleet would continue in the war. Obviously, the hard-pressed British stood between us and the enemies of democracy. Nevertheless, many of our people were not mentally prepared for our country's entry into the war.

President Roosevelt clearly realized the danger, and he got Congress to pass a number of near-war measures (page 292). In an address to Congress, on January 6, 1941, he seemed to presuppose our involvement in the war and ultimate victory over the enemies of democracy. In the words that follow, he declared four goals, "four freedoms," that ought to be attained *everywhere in the world*:

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward for a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy, peaceful life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world.

The Lease-Lend Act of March, 1941, was designed to help all effective enemies of the Axis Powers, but chiefly Great Britain.

In August of 1941, the Atlantic Charter was drafted and made public by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President

WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

Roosevelt (pages 296 and 297). It was a remarkable document, in view of the fact that our country was technically at peace with all the world. It reads like the declaration of two countries, *both* of which were engaged in warfare against Germany: "After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace," etc. The fact is that our country was actually at war and should have been at war, but was not yet fully at war.

THE DECLARATION OF WASHINGTON: "UNITED NATIONS"

Pearl Harbor instantly put us completely into the war, less than four months after the Atlantic Charter was issued. By the 1st of January, 1942, twenty-six countries were at war with the Axis Powers. Their representatives, then gathered at Washington, Winston Churchill being present, issued the following:

DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against

savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

- (1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the tripartite pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.
- (2) Each government pledges itself to coöperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington.
January First, 1942.

The Declaration of Washington, by reference, put the signatory powers on record as favoring the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Let us look at that document (pages 296 and 297) and consider the Eight Points.

The first three points have to do with political security:
(1) There is to be no aggrandizement; that is, aggression.
(2) There are to be no changes in boundaries against the wishes of the peoples concerned (not fully applied to conquered enemy peoples).
(3) All peoples are to be free to choose their own forms of government (not in practice applied to most colonial peoples).

Points 4, 5, 6, and 7 deal with one of Mr. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms"; that is, "freedom from want" — economic security for men and nations. Points 6 and 7 also touch upon another of the "freedoms" — freedom from fear.

Point 8 deals with freedom from fear. It suggests the disarmament of aggressor nations and the reduction of armaments by other nations, in the interest of peace. Most significantly, it suggests — or assumes — "*the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security*"; that is, a more complete

and effective international organization than the League of Nations.

The Declaration of Washington was headed "Declaration by United Nations." This was the first official use of the term "United Nations." The Declaration foreshadowed the establishment of the United Nations organization.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

MAJOR-POWER CONFERENCES: CASABLANCA; QUEBEC

The Atlantic meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill was the first of a series of comparable meetings which were held during the years 1939 to 1945. Roosevelt and Churchill met again at Casablanca, Morocco, in January of 1943, a year and a month after Pearl Harbor. For ten days they conferred about plans for the prosecution of the war in all parts of the world.

In August of 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill met at Quebec, to discuss war measures. This time China was represented by one of her statesmen, Mr. T. V. Soong.

MOSCOW

In October of 1943 the foreign ministers of the United States (Secretary of State Cordell Hull), Great Britain, and Russia met at Moscow and considered many details in the relations of their countries toward one another. Most important, they issued the Declaration of Moscow, in which they said, on behalf of their nations:

They recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a *general international organization*, based on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Moscow Declaration carried a little further, made a little more definite, the reference in the Atlantic Charter to "a permanent system of general security."

CAIRO

At the end of November in 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill, and the head of the government of China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, met at Cairo. They planned to press the war on Japan, stripping her of her conquests.

TEHERAN

From November 26 to December 2, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Marshal Joseph Stalin, head of the government of Russia (the U.S.S.R.), met at Teheran. The Big Three planned the further prosecution of the war against Germany. (Marshal Stalin did not attend the Cairo Conference because his country was not at the time at war with Japan.) They pledged their countries to the effort to establish an enduring peace. They said that they would seek the co-operation of all peace-loving nations; that they would welcome them into *the world family of democratic nations*.

SECOND QUEBEC CONFERENCE

In September of 1944 Roosevelt and Churchill met again at Quebec. They considered the war in Europe, which was obviously drawing to its close, and they planned the final great push against Japan. Of this conference Mr. Churchill said: "Our affairs [British and American] are so intermingled that it would not be possible to conduct these great affairs and large combined plans without frequent meetings of the principals and their high officers."

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCES: AGENCIES

In May of 1943 delegates from 44 United Nations met at Hot Springs, Virginia. As a result of this conference the *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations* was set up in 1945. Its purpose is to make agricultural production more effective throughout the world. Its means to that end will be research and the spreading of information.

On November 9, 1943, in a meeting at Washington, representatives of the nations at war with the Axis agreed to set up the *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*. The purpose of "UNRRA" was to give aid to individual victims of Axis aggression and cruelty. A "world community chest" of several billions of dollars was planned, the United States to supply a little more than three fifths of the amount. UNRRA began to function in 1944.

In July of 1944 a United Nations conference was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. It dealt with problems of international finance. It planned an *International Monetary Fund* for keeping the currencies of the nations from fluctuating constantly in value. Also it planned a *Bank for Reconstruction and Development*. The purpose of this International Bank was and is to make or guarantee loans for repairing war damages and for aiding industry in underdeveloped countries. The Fund and the Bank came into existence in 1946.

In November and December of 1944 an International Civil Aviation Conference was held in Chicago. Representatives of 54 countries — United Nations and neutrals — attended. They drew up a constitution for an international Civil Aviation Organization. Agreements were drafted under which the planes of signatory nations have some or all of the following rights: To pass over the territory of any member nation; to land for fuel and repairs; to take on and to land passengers, mail, and cargo. Committees of the Civil Aviation Organization concern themselves with such matters as the identification of aircraft, the licensing of airmen, weather reporting, and traffic control.

DUMBARTON OAKS AND YALTA MAJOR-POWER CONFERENCES

A major-power conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks in the city of Washington, from August 21 to October 7, 1944. Representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China — the Big Four — drafted plans for a permanent organiza-

tion to be known as *The United Nations*. The name had become familiar following the Declaration of Washington; but no central authority had been set up: there were members and agencies, but no head.

In February of 1945 Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, and President Roosevelt met at Yalta in the Crimea. The Big Three made plans for the occupation and control of Germany, which was still fighting. There were decisions regarding the governments of Poland and Yugoslavia. It was arranged that the foreign secretaries (our Secretary of State) of the three powers should meet periodically. Most important, it was agreed that a call should be made for a meeting of representatives of all the United Nations at San Francisco, to begin on April 25, 1945. The San Francisco Conference was to draw up a charter for the "general international organization" mentioned as a necessity in the Declaration of Moscow, the groundwork for such a charter having been prepared at Dumbarton Oaks.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT MEXICO CITY

From February 21 to March 9, 1945, there was held in Mexico City the Inter-American Conference on War and Peace. Back of this meeting were the conferences of American Ministers (Secretaries) of Foreign Affairs held at Panama in 1939, at Havana in 1940, and at Rio de Janeiro in 1942. (See pages 256 and 259.)

At the Mexico City Conference the Pan-American Union, or the Inter-American System, was given greater political strength. There were four major actions:

First. The governing board of the Union was given power on its own motion to consider any matter that might affect Inter-American relations. It was arranged that the Chairman of the Governing Board of the Union should be *elected*, beginning in 1946. Before Mexico City, our Secretary of State had always been the Chairman of the Board.

Second. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals for a permanent United Nations were approved in principle; but changes and additions were suggested in the interest of the Latin-American nations.

Third. The Conference adopted the *Act of Chapultepec*. It provided that during the war period the American republics would act together in *any* case of aggression — whether by a New World power or an Old World power — against any one of them. The Conference recommended that after the war new treaties should be made, making the same provision. The Act of Chapultepec was designed to turn the Inter-American System, or Pan-American System, into a regional collective-security organization.

Fourth. Argentina, having fallen into the hands of leaders of Fascist and Nazi sympathies, had not been invited to attend the Mexico City Conference. However, the Inter-American System would not be complete without Argentina, one of the most important of the American nations. A resolution was passed by the Conference, which stated that the Argentine government would be recognized by the other republics if she would declare war on Germany and Japan.

On March 27, 1945, when the situation of Germany and Japan was hopeless, Argentina declared war against them. All of the 21 American republics were now qualified and ready to participate in the San Francisco Conference, called for at Yalta, which was to plan a new organization for all peace-loving nations.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Which nations constitute the Big Three? the Big Four? the Big Five?
2. From December, 1942, until April 12, 1945, who were the men that were referred to as the Big Three? the Big Four? the Big Five?
3. By what other designations is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics often referred to?

COOPERATION IN WARTIME

4. What was "Free France"? "Vichy France"? Who led Free France? Who was the nominal head of Vichy France?
5. What were the "Four Freedoms" that Franklin Delano Roosevelt desired to promote? Where did he desire to have them promoted?
6. Under what circumstances was the term "The Anglo-French Nation" coined?
7. With reference to Pearl Harbor, when was the Atlantic Charter issued? the Declaration of Washington?
8. What was the first official use of the term "United Nations"?
9. What two pledges, with reference to the war, were made in the Declaration of Washington?
10. What were the political-security points of the Atlantic Charter?
11. Which two of Mr. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" were bolstered in the Atlantic Charter? By what provisions?
12. What was suggested by the words, "the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security"?
13. Who met at Casablanca? For what purpose?
14. What was the most important statement included in the Moscow Declaration?
15. Which leaders met at Cairo? For what purpose?
16. Which leaders met at Teheran? For what purpose?
17. What did Prime Minister Churchill say concerning British-American affairs after the Second Quebec Conference?
18. What was the work of the Hot Springs Conference?
19. For what purpose was UNRRA set up?
20. Which of the war years was marked by the largest number of international meetings?
21. What two international agencies did the Bretton Woods Conference plan?
22. Agreements to what end, or ends, were planned for at the International Civil Aviation Conference held at Chicago in 1944?
23. What was the notable work of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference?
24. At what major-power conference were the date and place of the San Francisco Conference set?
25. At Mexico City, in 1945, what was specified in regard to the office of Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union?
26. What was done with reference to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, at Mexico City?

WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

27. What did the Act of Chapultepec provide with reference to aggression?
28. What did the Mexico City Conference specify with reference to Argentina?

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare the Eight Points of the Atlantic Charter with Wilson's Fourteen Points.
2. Compare the Inter-American situation, or Inter-American relations, at the Mexico City Conference and after, with the situation during Theodore Roosevelt's Presidency (page 253).
3. Find out and report on the degree of success that attended the work of UNRRA. There is an article on this matter in *Harper's Magazine* for January, 1946, beginning at page 77. Find other periodical or newspaper matter on the subject, as recent as possible.



The emblem of the United Nations.

CHAPTER 14

THE UNITED NATIONS

CHE United Nations came into being during World War II, and its Charter was drawn up before the war was over. Paradoxical as it may seem on the surface of things, the United Nations' actions and agencies during the war years were designed, very largely, to serve the ends of peace. The Declaration of Washington, in which the term "United Nations" was first officially used, by reference incorporated in itself the Atlantic Charter, which laid down principles for an enduring peace to come, rather than for war. The Charter of the United Nations represents the seedling planted in the Atlantic Charter, brought to fruition very largely through the efforts of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, before the San Francisco Conference was to meet; but his successor, President Harry S. Truman, carried out his purposes with reference to that Conference and its work.

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMED AND ADOPTED

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Beginning on April 25 and ending on June 26, 1945, representatives of 51 United Nations met at San Francisco — as was suggested at Yalta — to draft a charter for an international organization that was expected to supersede the League of Nations and to be far more effective. The nations represented

were the following: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussia S.S.R., Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine S.S.R., Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Poland, recently liberated, was not represented at the Conference, because the government indicated for her at Yalta had not yet been set up. However, Poland, the first object of Hitler's attack in 1939, is considered an original member of the United Nations. Finland, which had been an ally of Germany but declared war against her on March 3, 1945, had not qualified as a United Nation and was not represented. Also unrepresented were Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal — all neutrals and not members of the United Nations. The presence of representatives of the Franco government in Spain was not desired, for that government had been set up with the aid of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

The chairman of the American delegation at San Francisco was our then Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. With him were Senator Tom Connally, Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg, Representative Sol Bloom, Representative Charles A. Eaton, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve (Barnard College), and Commander Harold E. Stassen (former Governor of Minnesota). As consultants to our delegation there were present in San Francisco representatives of American business, labor, education, agriculture, women, religious faiths, and professional groups — in all, 42 national organizations.

The Charter that the Conference framed followed rather closely the proposals that were made at Dumbarton Oaks. However, there was one interesting addition in the Charter —

the mention of education—not only once but six times. Dumbarton Oaks had merely specified that there should be provision for "social and other humanitarian matters."

THE CHARTER SIGNED AND RATIFIED

On June 25 the delegates present voted unanimously their approval of the Charter which they had just completed. The text of the Charter is to be found on pages 115 to 121 of *The World Almanac* for 1946. Copies of the Charter may be obtained from the American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

The Charter was signed as of June 26, and separately there was signed the Statute for the International Court of Justice. The Charter provided that there should be such a court. The Statute followed closely the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (the World Court that came into existence with the League of Nations).

On June 26, 1945, President Truman, having flown to San Francisco from Washington, addressed the Conference. In the course of his address he said: "If we had had this Charter a few years ago—and above all, the will to use it—millions now dead would be alive. If we should falter in the future in our will to use it, millions now living will surely die."

On July 28, 1945, the Charter was ratified by the United States Senate by a vote of 89 to 2.

On October 24, 1945, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics completed its ratification of the Charter. The rest of the Big Five and a majority of the other signatory powers had already deposited their ratifications, as was required. And thus the United Nations organization came into existence.

PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER

The success of any government depends, in the long run, on the knowledge and wisdom of the subjects of that government. And the effectiveness of any international organization will de-

pend on the informed good sense of people generally. Whether or not the United Nations will fulfill the high hopes of the vast majority of mankind, lovers of peace, will depend in however slight a measure on the interest, understanding, and good will of each citizen of each United Nation, including each of us.

COMPARISONS

The preamble of the Charter begins, "We the peoples of the United Nations." The preamble of the United States Constitution begins, "We the people of the United States." In effect, the Charter says, "We the nations of the United Nations." The Charter operates on nations. It is to be compared in this respect with the Articles of Confederation which preceded our Constitution. The Articles operated on the Thirteen States and not directly on their citizens. The Constitution operates, in matters of Federal concern, directly on our citizens. That is why it makes us a nation and not a confederation or league or "organization."

In the preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the "high contracting parties" are mentioned, and neither "peoples" nor "people."

The League was launched "in order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security." The United Nations was launched to promote peace, human rights, justice, and prosperity throughout the world.

The League of Nations had an Assembly. (See pages 189 to 192.) The United Nations has a General Assembly.

The League had a Council, roughly comparable with the upper house in a legislative body. The United Nations has a Security Council. The Security Council is expressly made capable of bringing overwhelming power to bear on a situation; it is not limited to sanctions and suasion. (Neither was the League Council, in theory, for that matter.) The original permanent members of the League Council included Italy and Japan. In the Security Council, Russia and China replace

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Italy and Japan. (Just which nations are classified as "democratic" or "peace-loving" or both, from time to time, is an interesting matter.)

The United Nations has an Economic and Social Council; the League had none. The League had, and the United Nations has, economic and social agencies and affiliates.

The League had a Mandates Commission. The United Nations has a Trusteeship Council for the supervision or control of some dependent territories.

Associated with the League and yet separate from it was the Permanent Court of International Justice, or World Court. The United Nations has its Court of International Justice.

The League had its necessary Secretariat, as has the United Nations.

ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The six principal organs, or branches, of the United Nations organization are those that have just been mentioned: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.

The General Assembly is the forum of the United Nations, the policy-making body of the organization.

It meets at least once a year, but it may meet more often.

Each nation that is a member of the United Nations has a single vote in the General Assembly, but it may have as many as five representatives there.

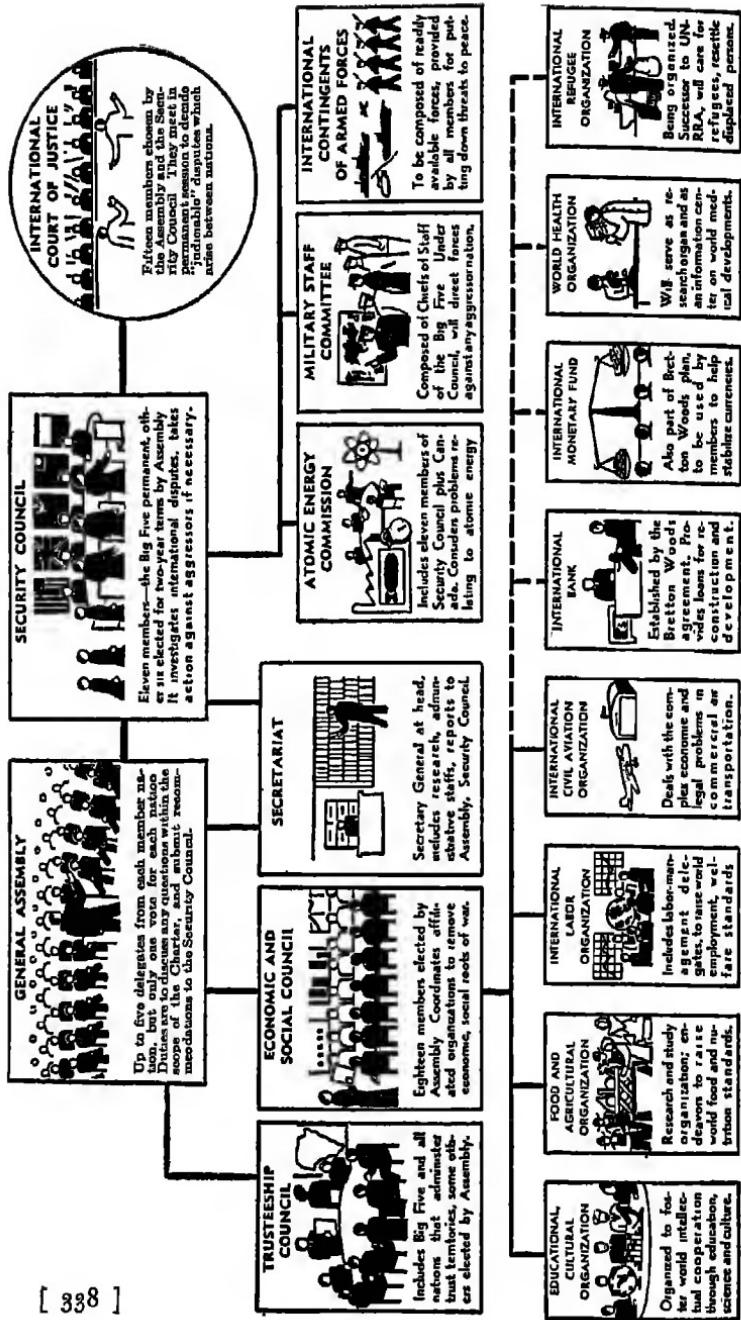
On important questions a two-thirds vote is required for decision. On routine and ordinary matters, a simple majority vote serves.

The Assembly elects its president for each session.

The Security Council has "primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security."

It is in continuous session.

It has eleven members. Five of these are permanent: China,



The organization and functions of the United Nations.

GRAPHICS INSTITUTE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. Six non-permanent members are elected to membership, by the General Assembly, for terms of two years each.

Routine matters may be decided by the vote of any seven members of the Council. In all cases that may lead to the use of pressure or force, the Big Five must be included in the necessary majority of seven. That is, in very important cases, any one of the Big Five has a veto on action by the Security Council.

If the Big Five and two other members of the Security Council agree, they can call upon particular nations to adjust matters by negotiation, arbitration, resort to the International Court of Justice, or still other means. These remedies being refused or failing, the Council may call for the application of sanctions (an old League weapon) against offenders — cutting off trade and also rail, sea, air, and other means of communication. If sanctions fail, the Council may call for the use of armed force against an offending nation or offending nations.

Regional alliances, or arrangements, for the maintenance of peace, like the Inter-American — or Pan-American — System, may continue to function; but any measures that regional allies may take must be reported to the Security Council, and those measures must be in accord with the principles of the United Nations.

The Economic and Social Council is designed to "promote higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of economic and social progress, . . . international cultural and educational cooperation, . . . universal respect for . . . human rights, and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to sex, race, language, or religion."

This Council meets "as required in accordance with its rules." Meetings shall be held "on request of a majority of its members."

There are eighteen members, elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, except that at the first election six members were elected for one year and six were elected for two years. There is no Charter requirement that any of the Big

Five shall be represented. The terms of six members expire each year, allowing the body a measure of continuity in the individuals composing it, as in the United States Senate.

Each member has one vote, and decisions are by simple majority.

The Economic and Social Council has no powers of compulsion. It may prepare agreements, to which the General Assembly may give force if it approves.

It may make studies of any subjects in its field, supply information to the Assembly or to the Security Council, and have a measure of oversight over such specialized agencies as the following: the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the Civil Aviation Organization (pages 328 and 338), and — perhaps — the International Labor Organization (pages 187-188), and the World Health Organization.

After the Charter became effective, representatives of the United Nations meeting at London (November, 1945) approved a plan for a permanent United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This organization, like the Food and Agriculture Organization and other specialized agencies, comes under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council.

The Trusteeship Council concerns itself about the welfare of dependent peoples. It will replace the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

The membership of this Council is made up of United Nations that administer trust territories; also an equal number that do not administer such territories. Probably neither China nor Russia will classify as an administrator of trust territories, but both those countries — belonging to the Big Five — must have places on the Council. Elective members of the Trusteeship Council are chosen by the General Assembly.

The decisions of the Council are made by simple majority vote.

The Council meets in accordance with its own rules. But special meetings are held at the request of a majority of the members.

Trust territories may include (1) territories formerly held under League of Nations mandates, (2) territories taken from the Axis Powers, and (3) dependencies voluntarily turned over for trusteeship by the nations in control of those dependencies. A United Nation, like India, cannot come under trusteeship. No United Nation holding any dependent territory is under compulsion to place it under the trusteeship of the United Nations. The United Nations may itself hold trusteeships, as over former Axis territories.

There are two classes of trusteeships: (1) over ordinary dependencies, and (2) over strategic areas, like Okinawa. Trusteeships of the first class come under the supervision of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Those of the second class come under the supervision of the Security Council.

The Trusteeship Council receives reports from the trustees of territories, accepts petitions — as for redress of grievances — from the inhabitants of trust territories, and may visit and inspect such territories. It reports to the General Assembly concerning ordinary dependencies under trusteeship. It may, also, concern itself about conditions in strategic areas.

Members of the United Nations that hold dependencies, whether or not under trusteeship, are expected to report regularly concerning their dependencies to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Trustees of strategic areas report on those areas to the Security Council of the United Nations.

The International Court of Justice is to the United Nations what the Permanent Court of International Justice was to the League of Nations (pages 185-187). It meets at The Hague, as did the earlier Court; but it may hold sessions elsewhere.

There are fifteen judges. The term of office is nine years; but at the first election five judges were elected for three-year

terms only, and five were elected for six-year terms. Judges are eligible for reelection. The judges are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. For election, a candidate must receive a majority of votes in the Assembly and a majority also in the Council. Only one man at a time from any one nation may hold a judgeship. It is not required that any of the judges shall be citizens of Big Five nations.

All members of the United Nations are "parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice." Comparably with the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, a nation not a member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the present Court on conditions laid down by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Secretariat has many duties, including the following: Making routine preparations for meetings, drawing up reports, conducting correspondence, registering treaties, and preparing budgets.

The chief official is the Secretary-General, appointed by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. He is the principal administrative officer for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council, as well as for the Secretariat. He has nothing to do with the International Court of Justice, which has its own officers and assistants.

AMENDMENT OF THE CHARTER

Amendments may be made to the Charter of the United Nations. They must first be voted by two thirds of the members of the General Assembly. Then they must be ratified by two thirds of all the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council — the Big Five.

A General Conference may be called for the purpose of reviewing and altering the Charter, as is provided in Article 109 thereof.

THE UNITED NATIONS IN OPERATION

There is wisdom as well as trite humor in the saying, "It's all right if it works." The League of Nations, for reasons some of which are now obvious enough, did not work very well. Will the United Nations organization work? It starts its career with the United States and Russia as original members, as the League did not. It starts, we trust, with more widespread and more intelligent support than did the League. The choice for the world has been made very simple. Either we shall have the peace that the United Nations is designed to promote, or we shall have *atomic warfare*.

THE BEGINNING

On January 10, 1946, in London, the General Assembly of the United Nations organization met for the first time. The session lasted until February 14.

The Assembly elected Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium as its president, and it elected Trygve Lie of Norway as Secretary-General.

It elected the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, as follows: Australia, Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Poland. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., represented the United States — it being a permanent member — on the Council.

It elected the eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council, as follows: Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, Norway, Peru, Ukraine S.S.R., Russia (the U.S.S.R.), the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia. Although the Charter does not require that any or all of the Big Five shall have places on this Council, they got them.

With the Security Council, the Assembly took part in the election of judges to sit on the International Court of Justice. The men chosen were from the following countries: Great Britain, France, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, the United States, the

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U.S.S.R., Mexico, Norway, Belgium, Canada, Yugoslavia, Poland, Egypt, and China. The American judge was Green Haywood Hackworth.

The Assembly created various committees and commissions. Among these is the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delegate to the Assembly, and John G. Townsend, formerly Senator from Delaware, were assigned to this committee. A Commission on Atomic Energy and Related Matters was set up.

The first session of the Security Council of the United Nations in the United States was held in interim headquarters at Hunter College in New York City on March 25, 1946. On August 28, the Security Council approved the applications of Afghanistan, Sweden, and Iceland for membership in the U. N. These countries had preserved their legal state of neutrality during World War II. In time, it is hoped that all nations, including those that took part on the losing side in the war, will apply for membership and be admitted.

Early in 1947 the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was superseded by the International Refugee Organization, which is to carry on the work of UNRRA on behalf of displaced persons in Europe.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

After the first meetings of United Nations organs, which were held in London in January and February of 1946, the temporary headquarters were located at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows on Long Island. The permanent location was finally chosen in the heart of New York City. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave \$8,500,000 for the purchase of this property. Plans for the building have already been drawn. The estimated cost is over \$65,000,000.

Already the U. N. has replaced the League of Nations with a larger and more complex organization. The records of the League were transferred to the U. N. at its final meeting in

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April, 1946, at Geneva. The World Court was put out of existence and replaced by the U. N. International Court of Justice, which met at The Hague on April 18, 1946.

THE VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

From the very beginning, Russia offered continuous opposition to the proposals of member nations, and for months the Security Council was blocked by Russia's use of her power of veto. The deadlock on control of atomic energy seemed hopeless, and angry words became more and more common. The United States insisted that the nations agree to joint control under the U. N. and inspection of all areas where atomic material might be prepared. Russia insisted that the United States destroy its atomic bombs first and then discuss the question of control and supervision in the Security Council. An impasse resulted in which no joint agreement of any kind could be reached. The United States continued to manufacture atom bombs.

SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

With the opening of the General Assembly on September 16, 1947, there was hope that it could ease the situation in the Security Council. Secretary of State Marshall made a series of proposals in his opening address. Among his proposals were: to provide a committee to study ways of limiting the veto of the great powers in the Security Council; to form another committee, made up of all U. N. members, to work between sessions on international problems. This committee could not be blocked by a veto. It could, perhaps, exert some pressure on the Economic Council for action. The Russian delegate, Andrei Vishinsky, angrily attacked the Marshall proposals and proposed a resolution to prohibit "warmongering." The United States replied that most of the war talk was a result of Russia's hostile attitude and actions. Thus the General Assembly faced the same problem as the Security Council in trying

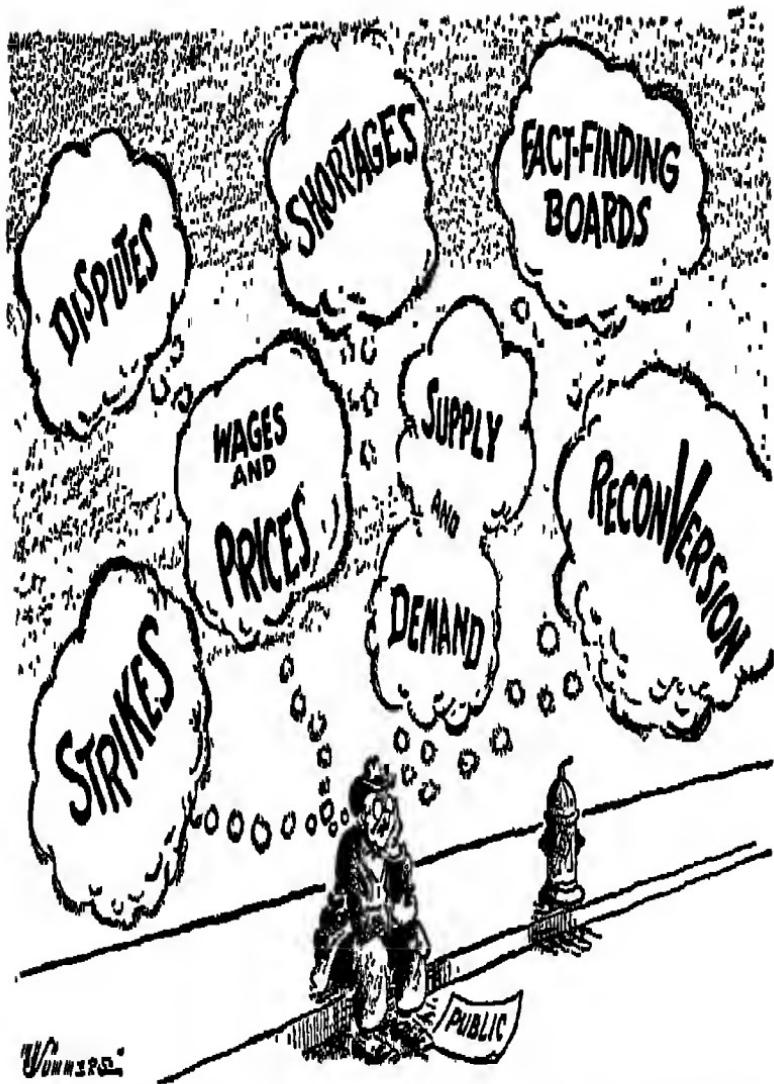
to get cooperation and agreement on urgent problems, such as the partitioning of Palestine and the settlement of international difficulties in Greece and Korea.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What group, or classification, of nations was represented at the San Francisco Conference?
2. What was the situation of Poland with reference to the United Nations at the time of the San Francisco Conference? of Argentina? of Spain? of Finland? of India?
3. Who was chairman of the American delegation at San Francisco?
4. A number of delegates to the Convention of 1787 refused to sign the Constitution which they had helped to draft. Was there a comparable situation at San Francisco?
5. What "Statute," practically a part of the Charter, was signed separately?
6. What happened with reference to the Charter on July 28, 1945? on October 24, 1945?
7. Does the Charter operate directly on citizens of the United Nations? Did our Articles of Confederation do so? Does our Constitution do so?
8. Compare the chief organs of the United Nations with those of the League of Nations.
9. Who are the members of the General Assembly? How many votes has each? How large a majority is required to decide important questions? routine matters?
10. What is the chief purpose of the Security Council? What nations are permanent members? How many non-permanent members are there? Who chooses these?
11. Discuss the veto power that any one of the Big Five has in the Security Council.
12. Consider the power of compulsion that the Security Council possesses.
13. How do regional arrangements for defense and peace fit into the United Nations setup?
14. What are some of the purposes of the Economic and Social Council? of some of its agencies?

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15. How is the membership of the Trusteeship Council made up?
16. What are the two classes of trusteeships? Under the supervision of what body is one of those classes? the other class?
17. Compare the International Court of Justice with the Permanent Court of International Justice.
18. By whom or by what body, or bodies, are judges elected to the International Court?
19. What are the purposes of the Secretariat? Who happens to be Secretary-General at the present time? Of which country is he a citizen?
20. How may the Charter be amended? Could any member of the Big Five block the amendment of the Charter?
21. What, in its membership, seems promising for the United Nations, compared with the League of Nations?
22. What compulsion does the possibility of atomic warfare place upon "the peace-loving nations"?
23. Where, and at about what date, did the General Assembly of the United Nations meet for the first time? the Security Council?



In time of peace "Meditation," cartoon by Summers in *Buffalo Evening News*

CHAPTER

15

THE WORLD AT
MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

EVERY nation that was involved in World War II and survived had its difficulties multiplied and its domestic and foreign problems interlaced as never before. New patterns began to take shape — economic, social, and political — even before the fighting was over. Five years later the peace treaties for the defeated nations had not been written. The Soviet Union was making new advances in Asia, while the democratic nations of the west strove to curb the widening circle of Soviet control. In western Europe economic conditions were improving but remained unsettled. Forecasts in 1950 were for continued tension and uncertainty.

STRUGGLE FOR A NEW BALANCE OF POWER

In the last century there came to be five or six so-called great powers. Great Britain, with her Empire and great navy, served as a stabilizing force. Her policy of balance of power in Europe also served as a controlling factor. Great Britain was interested that no nation become too powerful. This was true with the France of Napoleon, with the Germany of the Kaiser in World War I, and, of course, with the Germany of Hitler. When any European nation or combination of nations threatened to dominate, Great Britain would join the other side. While still very important, the position of Great Britain and the Empire has weakened as a result of World Wars I and II.

About 1900 the United States came to be recognized as a great power and became more active in world politics. In the short time since then, the United States has had to assume leadership in world affairs. The industrial capacity and economic power of the United States during and following World War II were tremendous. Also, she was the only major nation that had not suffered the devastation of war. In post-war affairs it became more and more clear that the United States, Great Britain, France, and other democratic nations formed a western bloc as opposed to the policies of the Soviet Union and the satellite nations under her control. All the problems of reconstruction and of the functioning of the United Nations have been made more difficult because the world is sharply divided between the democratic nations of the west and the Soviet-dominated bloc of the east. As yet there has been no satisfactory balance or basis for coöperation. Let us pray that east and west can learn to harmonize relations for making a better world in the interests of peace and human welfare.

GREAT BRITAIN

After the German surrender the British people elected a new Parliament, and the coalition government headed by the Conservative Winston Churchill was replaced by a Labor government with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister. The new government undertook the socialization, or nationalization, of some of the more important industries that touch the lives of all the people. Among other businesses, it nationalized coal mining throughout the country, compensating the owners of mines. Of necessity, the rationing of food and clothing and other articles was continued; and during the summer of 1946 bread was for the first time put on the list of rationed foods.

Lease-Lend aid from the United States was terminated shortly after fighting came to an end. To help Great Britain to her feet, and incidentally to help our own country because we need to trade with Great Britain and need her as a friendly nation,

our government lent to the British government \$4,400,000,000. Of this amount, \$3,750,000,000 was to be furnished in cash. The remaining \$650,000,000 had already, in effect, been advanced by our country. (The British had agreed to pay us that amount for surplus war supplies and other goods that we turned over to them.) The loan was voted by Congress in July, 1946, and President Truman promptly approved the act.

The British had not fully recovered from the effects of World War I when World War II, far more costly and more frightful, broke upon them. In fact, they were still carrying part of the indebtedness that had piled up against them during the Napoleonic wars, when World War I began in 1914. They find themselves in a difficult struggle to keep their country strong and reasonably prosperous and to help hold together the British Commonwealth of Nations. British interests run counter to those of the Soviet Union in central Europe, in the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. At some points the Soviet government has not been greatly inclined to compromise, and neither has the British government been so inclined — as has been shown in Iran.

The devaluation of the pound sterling in 1949 from \$4.03 to \$2.80 was a desperate effort to relieve economic problems and stimulate foreign trade. Exports to earn dollars were a necessity. In the election of February, 1950, the Labor and Conservative parties campaigned strenuously for popular support. The Labor party won, but by a very slight margin.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

The liberated French gave no thought to restoring the kingdom or the empire. They decided to establish a Fourth Republic, in which they would try to improve on the constitutional machinery of the Third Republic. A provisional government was formed first under General de Gaulle, later under Georges Bidault, outstanding leader of the French underground movement during the German occupation of France.

Promptly France resumed her place as one of the five principal powers — the United States, Great Britain (perhaps more accurately here, the British Commonwealth of Nations), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, and China. The French were given control of one of the four zones into which Germany was divided, pending a German settlement. They re-annexed Alsace-Lorraine (pages 3 and 71), which Hitler had incorporated with Germany in 1940; they took over the Saar (pages 190 and 237); and they expect to annex some additional territory that was formerly a part of western Germany. France continues her fear of a revival of German power as a threat to her own security.

Belgium has advanced farther on the road to recovery than have most countries that were overrun by the Germans. The Belgian parliament has refused to permit King Leopold III (page 283) to return to his country; but the monarchy has not been abolished. The king's brother acts as regent.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

In each of the world wars of this century Russia suffered the devastation of more territory and the loss of more lives than all her allies put together. After she dropped out of the First World War her former allies treated her as an enemy (page 98). She came out of the Second World War suspicious of everybody and with a determination to establish her security in every direction. She annexed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, took a large portion of eastern Poland, and dominated the Polish government. Her zone in Germany gave control of access to Berlin. In eastern Europe the satellite nations were under control — except Greece (and perhaps Yugoslavia). By 1950 penetration further into Europe seemed to have halted. However, her advances into Communist China opened prospects for further domination in Asia.

Many books and innumerable articles have been written about the problems that confront Russia, or the U.S.S.R., and

the problems that she presents to the rest of the world. The fundamental differences between Russia and western nations extend to all phases of life. They include methods of dictatorship as opposed to democratic ideas. Also, the Communist economic system is the opposite of our system of private property (capitalism). The whole cultural background is different. The "iron curtain" (Churchill's expression) of secrecy and censorship with which the U.S.S.R. has surrounded itself makes it difficult for us to learn about Russia and for the Russians to know the outside world. The Russians can hardly complain if people who are not permitted freely to inform themselves resort to conjecture, which cannot always be either accurate or favorable.

Still the world asks "What of the night?" as the constellation of the Great Bear looms in the sky (page 2). It will be well for us to keep as open-minded as possible about the U.S.S.R., and for our government to continue to be watchful as well as just in its negotiations with the masters of the great Russian people and their affiliated peoples.

GERMANY

Germany, divided into Russian, American, British, and French occupation zones, presents a formidable problem to all the world. Economists and others are sure that Europe cannot be put back on a reasonably satisfactory basis until Germany is once more made an economic and political unit. Some want Germany strengthened as a first line of defense against Communism. Others fear a revival of military power if German industries are restored.

The location of Germany makes it a buffer state and a scene of friction between the Russians and the West. The Soviet blockade of Berlin (1948-49) was countered by the American and British "airlift."

The Federal German Republic, organized in 1949 with its capital at Bonn, includes United States, British, and French



The American Observer, Washington, D. C.

Allied West and Soviet East Germany. West German State ("Federal German Republic"), population 46 million. East German State ("German Democratic Republic"), population 17 million

zones. It is a republic with a president, a chancellor, and a two-house parliament. The chancellor, the real executive, holds office during approval of the lower house. The three-member Allied High Commission (United States, Great Britain, and France) has charge of foreign affairs and may veto acts of parliament. Economic conditions are gradually improving in this heavily populated, highly industrial area. There is concern over possible revival of Nazism and lack of

basic democratic processes. The Soviets have formed a government in their zone.

ITALY

Defeated Italy went over to the Allies in October, 1943 (page 301). Liberal elements that had somehow survived the dictatorship of Mussolini came out of hiding and took control of affairs, the Allies permitting. In June, 1946, the Italians voted out their monarchy, and King Humbert II, after a very brief reign, went into exile. The post-war settlements imposed upon Italy were harsh, but not to be compared in harshness with those imposed, or to be imposed, upon her one-time major allies in the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Italy was required to make some cessions of territory, including the city of Fiume (page 179) to Yugoslavia, to consent to the internationalization of Trieste, and to make some slight cessions in the northwest to France; also to make reparations payments to the U.S.S.R. Her army, navy, and air forces are to be closely limited. The country faces a difficult future. But her people now possess a greater measure of individual liberty than they have known in a long time, and there are indications that they appreciate the boon.

PLIGHT OF EASTERN EUROPE

Austria, set apart from Germany, is likewise separated into British, American, French, and Russian zones of occupation. Economic conditions are wretched. The once proud, rich city of Vienna is a poor shadow of its former self, isolated from western Europe.

Hungary is under occupation by the Russians, who seem to be dealing harshly with her. By the terms of the peace treaty of 1947, she was obliged to return to Rumania that part of the extensive mountainous province of Transylvania which was assigned to her by Hitler in 1939 (page 286).

Rumania was required to hand back to Russia two provinces,

Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina. Russian influence is strong in Rumania, and it will doubtless continue to be so.

Bulgaria was allowed to retain the province of Southern Dobruja, which was ceded by Rumania in 1940. Since 1947 Bulgaria has had a Communist government (called a republic) closely associated with Moscow.

Finland was required to give up to Russia a few small areas. These areas are of great strategic value. Finland has been left without an outlet to the Arctic Ocean.

Czechoslovakia suffered German occupation; since the War the Russians have dominated the government. The Czechs' protests are bitter, as they once knew a higher standard of living and a democratic government.

Greece made valiant and effective resistance against Mussolini's forces, but was overwhelmed by the Nazis. The country suffered much under occupancy by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces. Food was so scarce that people died in the streets of starvation. Those Greeks who were able to carry on guerrilla warfare against the invaders were divided into two factions, and they occasionally fought each other as well as the common enemy. After the German collapse British forces occupied parts of Greece for a time. Civil War between the Greek government and rebel factions (which had foreign support) continued for some years after the war.

Italy has been required to cede to Greece the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea, which she took from Turkey in 1912. In her territorial claim against Albania (page 358) Greece is opposed by Yugoslavia. By the will of the Greek people, their government continues as a constitutional monarchy under King Paul.

Yugoslavia, like Greece, was torn by factional fighting while resistance to the Italians and Germans was being conducted. Joseph Broz (called "Marshal Tito"), supported by Russia, won out in the factional conflict, and the monarchy was abolished. In 1946 the opposing Yugoslav leader, General Draja Mihailo-

vitch of the "Chetnik" guerrillas, was tried for collaboration with the enemy, found guilty, and put to death. While a Communist, Marshal Tito through 1948 and since has refused to follow orders from Moscow in regard to economic policies and confiscation of land. This defiance of Moscow has led to loans and trade benefits from western nations. Yugoslavia is a critical zone, and there is speculation on how long Marshal Tito can express independence.

LATIN AMERICA; CANADA

Since the close of World War II the United States and the countries of Latin America have continued to cooperate effectively and to the advantage of all. Only Argentina remains somewhat aloof in relations with her sister nations of this hemisphere (page 330). The wartime demand for all kinds of products at high prices brought a boom to much of Latin America. Inflation resulted and it still continues, with particular hardship to persons having small incomes. This has certainly been the case in Mexico.

Brazil has rid herself of the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas, which began before the war and continued through it. The nation has adopted a new democratic constitution which is being made to work. Other countries of Latin America seem also to be making progress on the road to true democracy.

Canada has grown in importance. With a larger area than the United States, she has 10 per cent of our population. Wide areas can support a larger population than they now have. Large industrial expansion has come in the southern portions. Migration continues from Britain and Europe.

Canada has had industrial difficulties of the kind that have troubled our own country, following the war. The relations of the United States with Canada continue to be as satisfactory as the relations among our own states. Between us and the Canadians there is a broad basis of understanding and — even

more important — good will. There can be no conflict where mutual understanding is reinforced with mutual good will.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

Turkey, which has undergone rapid Westernization under able leaders since her disastrous experience in World War I, has been under pressure from Russia recently, as in former times. For well over a century Russia has desired control of the Dardanelles, the narrow waterway which connects the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and separates Europe from Asia Minor. Always the Bear has sought "to put his feet in warm water"; and Turkey, with her principal city, Istanbul (Constantinople), planted on that waterway, has been in the way of the Bear. In standing out against extreme Russian claims, Turkey has had the support of Great Britain and France and other powers from time to time (pages 60-61, 65, and 75). And thus far Turkey remains in possession of the Dardanelles.

Albania is predominantly Moslem in population, as are some areas in Yugoslavia. The southern part of the country, largely Greek in population, is known to the Greeks as Northern Epirus; and the Greeks lay claim to it as rightfully a part of their country. The territory is important strategically, as it lies at the entrance to the Adriatic Sea.

Serious problems have been presented in those lands of the Middle East which are known collectively as the "Arab states." The greater number of these formed themselves into the Arab League, which includes Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen (southwestern Arabia). The League is represented by the Arab League Council, which held its first meeting at Cairo in June, 1945. All of the Arab League states are to some extent special subjects of both British and Russian interest. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran (Moslem but not under the control of Arabs) have rich deposits of petroleum, which circumstance greatly heightens the interest of other



New York Times

The Near East and the Middle East. Note how the countries of the Arab League lie across Great Britain's short route to the Far East.

countries in their affairs. Our own country and some of our oil interests have made special arrangements with the government of Saudi Arabia whereby much of the oil business of that country has come under American control. In some petroleum areas — in Iraq, for example — British and American interests work together. The arrangements are fair enough, probably, to the nations on whose land the oil is found; at any rate, their people would have little use for it. Whether the people profit as they should from the oil leases that their rulers grant is another matter.

In India the Moslem minority in the population constitutes one of the important pieces in the extremely complicated game

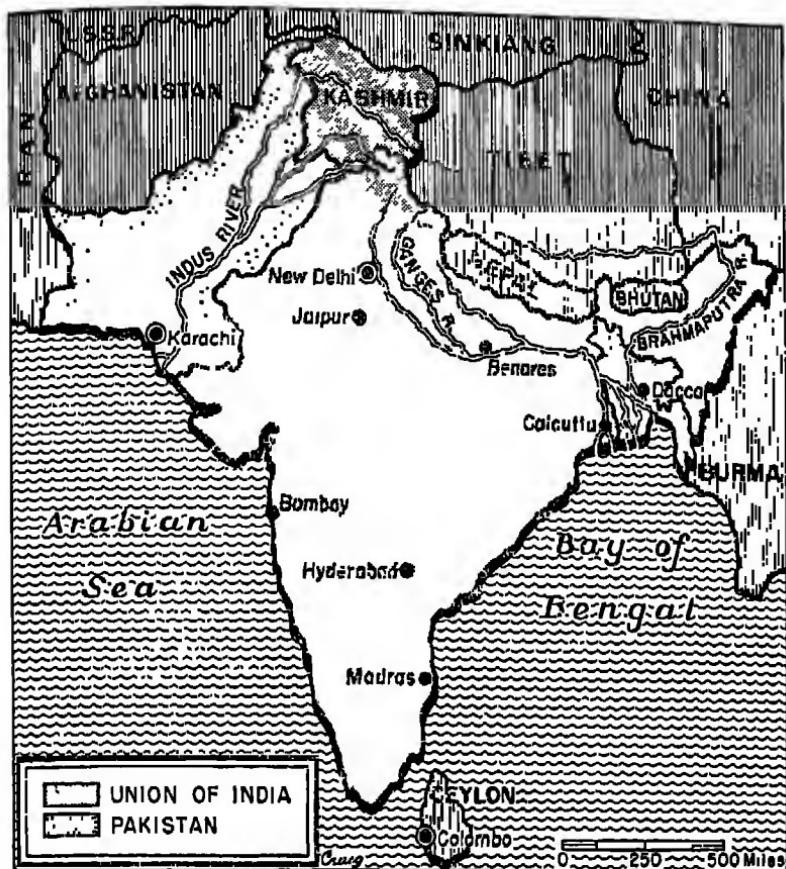
of politics that is always going on there. Moslems, Hindus, and numerous other religious groups for many years opposed British rule in India; they have also opposed one another enthusiastically. They rid themselves in 1947 of British rule when India (Hindu-dominated) and Pakistan (Moslem-dominated) became independent. Riots and bloodshed followed India and Pakistan now belong to the United Nations.

French and Spanish Morocco, Tangier (under international control), Algeria and Tunisia (French), and Libya (lost to Italy as a result of World War II) are all predominantly Moslem, and all have an important Arab element in their populations. Other parts of Africa also are Moslem.

Egypt alone, of all Moslem Africa, has independent status and has a voice of her own in international affairs. The British withdrew all their military, naval, and air forces from Egypt in 1946. The country stands with other "Arab states" in supporting the Arabs of Palestine in their opposition to the establishment of a separate Jewish state in Palestine.

Palestine, a British mandate until 1948, was long in a class by itself as a center of trouble (pages 31 and 145). The Jewish Zionists were for years prevented from realizing the hopes that were held out to them for a national homeland. The Arabs have prospered and greatly increased in the land since the Zionists began to colonize it. The Zionists brought capital and industry, which gave many Arabs opportunities to occupy themselves gainfully.

During World War II, Zionists begged Great Britain to allow entry of Jewish refugees without restrictions. Arab resentment ran high and fighting occurred. Finally Great Britain appealed to the United Nations for settlement of the Palestine issue. The General Assembly approved partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, with Jerusalem an international zone. There was continued bloodshed and terror on all sides. The Arab League actively supported the cause of the Arabs. Count Bernadotte, the U.N. mediator, who worked tirelessly, was as-



The American Observer, Washington, D. C.

India as divided into the Union of India (now called the Republic of India), which is predominantly Hindu, and Pakistan, which is predominantly Moslem.

sassinated in September, 1948. Dr. Ralph Bunche continued his work. The future of Arab Palestine remained a problem, and there was dissatisfaction over Jerusalem as an international zone.

The new Jewish state — Israel — was given *de facto* recognition by the United States and other nations in 1948–49. Israel became a member of the United Nations in 1949.

THE FAR EAST

During most of the time that China was carrying on her defensive warfare against the Japanese, her people were also fighting among themselves. The principal group opposed to the central government was the Chinese Communists. In the last stage of the war against Japan, the Russians occupied Manchuria (the Japanese puppet Empire of Manchukuo). Not long after the Japanese surrender they evacuated the province. Thereupon the Chinese Communists took over. In China, the Communist armies of General Mao Tse-tung drove back the Nationalist government forces, until in 1949 Chiang Kai-shek fled to Formosa and bid for western aid to continue the fight. Mao Tse-tung went to Moscow for a long conference with Soviet leaders.

On July 4, 1946, the Philippine Commonwealth became the Philippine Republic (page 263), with Manuel Roxas as president. The United States has helped and undoubtedly will continue to help the Filipinos in their efforts to restore their war-ravaged land. Our armed forces retain bases in the islands. The Filipinos, having fought shoulder to shoulder with Americans for the liberation of their country from the Japanese, are glad to have our friendly forces near at hand.

The Netherlands East Indies are important producers of rubber, tin, petroleum, spices, quinine, and cordage fibers. British capitalists have heavy investments in the various Dutch colonial enterprises, and this circumstance complicates the economic and political pattern. The people of the islands, styling themselves "Indonesians," long wished for such freedom as the Filipinos enjoyed, first under the American flag and afterward under their own. In 1949 the United States of Indonesia was formed as an independent nation, with a relationship with the Netherlands similar to that of Canada with Great Britain.

Japan since her surrender has been under the virtual dictatorship of General Douglas MacArthur. There is an Allied Council for Japan, in which the Russians make themselves heard oc-

casionally. Japan is heavily overpopulated and has inadequate natural resources. Stripped of all her possessions except her ancient home islands, she has been cut off from important sources of raw materials. The whole Japanese nation was greatly sobered by the results of World War II.

Korea, for many years considered a province of Japan and called "Chosen," was divided, after the fall of Japan, into a northern section, which was placed under Russian control, and the rest of the peninsula, which was placed under American control. The Koreans quite understandably desire a united and independent Korea.

Siam, which chose for some years to be called "Thailand," was classed as an ally by the occupying Japanese. The Siamese puppet government seems to have been completely in coöperation with patriot groups who were opposing the Japanese by every possible means. This circumstance has influenced the victors to deal considerably with the country. The Japanese required the Vichy French to return to Siam a part of French Indo-China which the French had taken from Siam. The Siamese desire to retain some part of this territory, and they may be allowed to do so.

In French Indo-China the Fourth French Republic has granted the people a measure of self-government such as they never enjoyed under the Third Republic or under the Second Empire of Napoleon III (which established the colony). Late in 1946, part of the country was formed into the Republic of Viet Nam, under French protection.

Burma has organized her own republican form of government and is in the British Commonwealth.

WAR-GUILT TRIALS

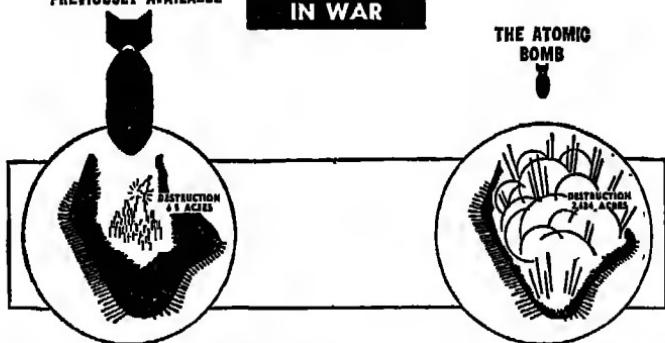
Most notable of the war guilt trials was the one held at Nuremberg, Germany, from November, 1945, to September, 1946. Twenty-two of the principal figures in the Nazi govern-

WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

LARGEST BOMB
PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE

IN WAR

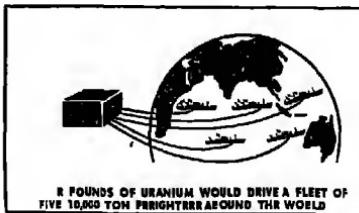
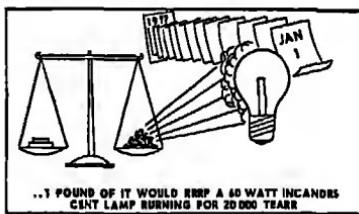
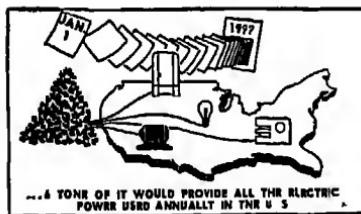
THE ATOMIC
BOMB



...AND ONLY 1/10 OF 1% OF THE ENERGY IN THE ATOMIC BOMB
WAS LIBERATED!!!

IN PEACE

THOUGH WE HAVE ONLY SUCCEEDED IN SPLITTING THE URANIUM ATOM
IF ITS ENERGY COULD BE USED CONVENIENTLY FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES..



Graphics Institute for Seventeen Magazines

The destructive effect of the atomic bomb as used at Hiroshima, compared with possible constructive effects of fissionable atomic material.

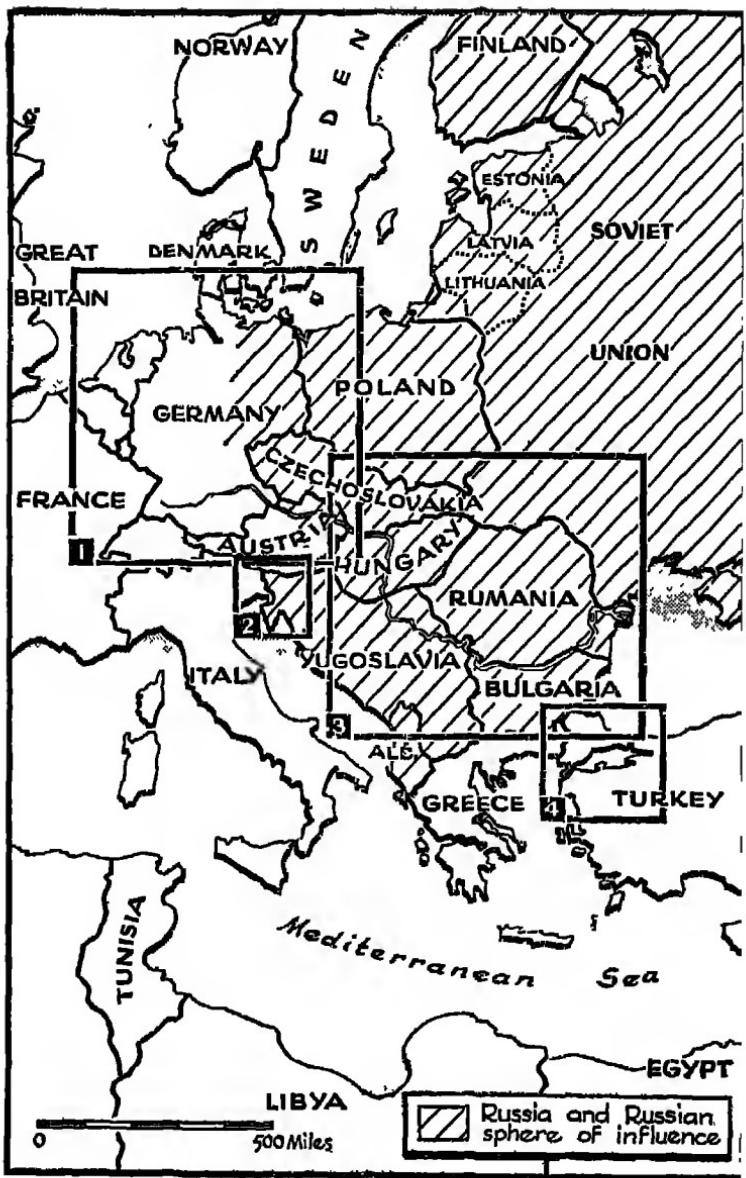
ment of Germany were tried. Nineteen of them were found guilty, twelve being condemned to death. In effect, the whole Nazi regime was investigated before all the world by a special international court. The theory on which they were tried is that they were guilty of crimes against all the world and that the peoples of the world have the right and the duty to punish such crimes. Also, Germany and her late allies had entered into the Kellogg-Briand Pact, outlawing war as an instrument of national policy; and of what use could such a pact be if its breach were not punishable as crime? The Nuremberg trial marks a step in the extension of international law to make it apply directly to individuals (page 157).

THE OLD QUESTION OF WORLD PEACE

The alternative to world peace seems to be atomic warfare, which would be inconceivably destructive. Our country, while it was in possession of the only stock of atomic bombs in the world, offered to the world the Baruch plan for the control of atomic power. The Russians do not like this plan because it provides for international inspections within the limits of any country that might be preparing fissionable atomic materials. The Russians have countered with a plan of their own, under which each nation would be trusted to carry out its promise not to prepare atomic material for use in warfare.

The lessons of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (page 304) lie open to all men. The Russians have announced making atomic bombs. The hydrogen bomb threatens to be the most devastating weapon of all. One might expect that most earnest efforts would be made to prevent the recurrence of world warfare. And it seems that they have been and are being made.

During World War II, our Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman) and the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Churchill and finally Attlee) met with Marshal Stalin on different occasions. Sup-



New York Times

The four European areas that present the chief obstacles to lasting peace:

- (1) Germany, (2) Trieste, gateway to central Europe, (3) the Danube Valley; (4) the Dardanelles, key to the Black Sea.

plementing these international meetings and continuing them after the end of the fighting were the meetings of the foreign ministers (our Secretary of State) of the Big Three and of other countries. The meetings have not always been fruitful; but they have kept the more powerful nations in touch with one another, even though not in full agreement, and they have preserved the possibility of coöperation among those nations and all nations.

CONFERENCE AT PARIS TO PLAN PEACE

On July 29, 1946, delegates from twenty-one of the nations that had made war against the Axis Powers met in a peace conference at Paris. They did not meet as representatives of the United Nations, though all the nations represented were members of that organization. The Conference was called by the Big Four (meaning, in this action, Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and France, rather than Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and China). Immediately the differences of outlook among the nations, large and small, were given an airing. The Big Four — and especially Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union — dominated the Conference. The Ukraine and Byelorussia, members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics but members also of the United Nations in their own right, generally stood with the U.S.S.R., as did Poland and other countries under Soviet influence. The United States and Great Britain usually stood together. France and most of the lesser nations represented threw such weight as they had to one side or the other, according to their own advantage as they saw it. Drafts of treaties were prepared which furnished what might be called blueprints for the restoration of a state of legal peace throughout Europe, except in Germany. The former allied nations, after repeated conferences of their foreign ministers, failed to finish the peace treaties. This deep disagreement on policies and purposes appeared in all international affairs.

The General Assembly of the U. N. met in New York (at Flushing Meadows, on Long Island) on October 23, 1946. Much the same alignments and divisions among the representatives of various nations appeared as had appeared in other U. N. meetings (pages 343 to 345) and at the Paris Conference.

THE MARSHALL PLAN

After more than two years of peace, the European nations continued in desperate condition. It was thought that an improvement in economic conditions would both relieve political pressure and hasten general recovery. On June 5, 1947, at Commencement Exercises at Harvard University, our Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, made a very important proposal in this direction. He suggested that the needy nations of Europe (1) draw up a balance sheet of European resources and needs, (2) work out a plan of self-help, and (3) submit to the United States a program in which dollars could best be used to help Europe help herself.

Sixteen nations of Europe met at Paris through July, 1947, to discuss plans and needs. Foreign Ministers Bevin of Great Britain, Bidault of France, and Molotov of Soviet Russia were the leading figures at the conference until Russia withdrew, after rejecting the British and French proposals. This was detrimental to the working out of the program because it meant that the countries in the Russian sphere of influence were unable to present their needs. Europe was divided. Russia tried to counteract the Marshall Plan by calling a meeting of nine nations to form a Communist Information Bureau ("cominform").

Some 22 billion dollars was submitted as the needs of the sixteen West European nations. About 16 billion dollars would have to come from the United States. This well exemplifies the continuing costliness of war even after fighting has stopped. The United States has already spent billions in relief and has given considerable aid to Greece under the Truman Doctrine of

THE WORLD AT MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

helping countries to ward off Communism. How much more should be done to help in world recovery is a real problem.

BALANCE SHEET OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY THUS FAR

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a widespread optimism that man was at last becoming civilized. There was a feeling that war, famine, and disease were being conquered and that the human race could rise to new heights of civilization. Actually, the record of the first half of the twentieth century is perhaps the worst in history in terms of war devastation, human suffering, and cultural collapse. It is no wonder that the world now is plagued with tremendous problems. The serious student realizes that it will take a long time to achieve real recovery and better world conditions.

It would be interesting to be able to survey world conditions in the year 2100 A.D. What kind of governments will exist; and will there be a world government to maintain peace? What will be the condition of the arts and sciences? What will be the conditions of human life? Will people have a higher culture, or will there be a new "dark age" of ignorance and isolation? What will the history books 150 years from now have to say about the events of our own generation? It is interesting, but rather a waste of energy, to wonder about the distant future. Concern with solving the problems of our present generation is the main issue. How they are solved may set the direction of events for many years to come. It is human to hope that future generations will learn to manage affairs better than has been done thus far in the twentieth century.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. If there were no more Germans in Germany, disposition of the territory of Germany would still present the nations with tremendous problems. Why?

WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

2. Arrangement for which cession, or cessions, of territory by Italy caused the most disagreement among the victors? Why?
3. What has happened to Austria as a result of her having been a part of Nazi Germany for a time?
4. How did Greece fare under enemy occupancy? How did she fare in the matter of territory in the post-war settlements?
5. Why has the western world watched with interest the relations between Yugoslavia and Russia?
6. What is the condition of Egypt in regard to sovereignty?
7. Why did the British find their mandate, or trusteeship, in Palestine extremely difficult to administer?
8. Why has it been extremely difficult to help China, as our country has tried to do?
9. What is the condition of the Philippine Islands in regard to sovereignty? What was their former condition?
10. Why are the Netherlands East Indies of very great interest to the Dutch and to the British? What is the attitude of the Indonesians toward foreign overlordship?
11. Following the Japanese surrender, what man was placed in control of Japan? What two conditions are the principal causes of the country's present economic difficulties?
12. Why is the present situation of Korea very unsatisfactory to the Korean people?
13. What notable trial was held at Nuremberg, beginning in November, 1945? On what theory was the prosecution based?
14. Why does fissionable atomic material greatly impress many persons with the need for lasting world peace?
15. Tell about the most recent meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Freedom of the press is absolutely essential to the liberty of any people in the modern world. Bring together as many reasons as you can why this statement is true.
2. There are great diversities among the various free peoples of the New World, yet their governments get along with one another far better than do the governments of the rest of the world. Consider why this is so.
3. Report on some of the arrangements that must be made among the nations in order to liquidate World War II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS; RECENT EVENTS

1941	
January 6	President Franklin D. Roosevelt declares as goals the "Four Freedoms."
August 14	Roosevelt and Churchill announce the Atlantic Charter.
1942	
January 1	Declaration of Washington. First official use of the term "United Nations."
1943	
May 18– June 3	Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, plans Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
October 19–30	Moscow Conference (Hull, Eden, and Molotov) suggests "a general international organization."
November 9	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration proposed by a conference at Washington.
November 26– December 2	At Teheran, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin refer to a "world family of democratic nations."
1944	
July 1–22	Bretton Woods Conference plans International Monetary Fund and International Bank.
August 21– October 7	Dumbarton Oaks Conference plans an organization for the United Nations.
November– December	International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago plans International Civil Aviation Organization.
1945	
February 4–12	At Yalta in the Crimea, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agree on call for a United Nations Conference to meet at San Francisco, to draft charter for a "general international organization"
April 25– June 26	Conference at San Francisco draws up Charter for the United Nations Organization.
July 28	United Nations Charter ratified by the United States Senate
October 24	Russia (U.S.S.R.) deposits ratification of Charter. United Nations comes into being.
1946	
January 10– February 15	First session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is held at London.
January 17– February 16	First session of the Security Council of the United Nations is held at London.
January 24	General Assembly establishes "a commission to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy."
March 25	Security Council meets for the first time in this country.
April 8–18	Last session of the Assembly of the League of Nations is at Geneva. (There had been no meeting since 1939.)
July 29	Peace Conference meets at Paris.
	General Assembly of the United Nations meets.

1947 January 20– February 4 January 27– February 10 February 6–19 February 10–24 February 28 March 10 March 26– April 28 April 28 July 19– August 17 September 16 November 13 November 29 December 18	<p>Social Commission holds first session at Lake Success.</p> <p>Commission on Human Rights holds first session.</p> <p>First session of Population Commission is held.</p> <p>Commission on Status of Women holds first session.</p> <p>Military Staff Committee announces completion of principles for use of armed forces</p> <p>Security Council resolves to refer back to the Atomic Energy Commission the question of international atomic control and urges further study of the problem.</p> <p>First meeting of Trusteeship Council.</p> <p>Special session of the General Assembly called by the Secretary General on request of the Security Council to discuss the Palestine problem.</p> <p>Fifth session of the Economic and Social Council.</p> <p>Second session of the General Assembly at the temporary General Assembly Hall, Flushing Meadows, New York.</p> <p>General Assembly adopts (Vote 41–6) the Interim Committee or "Little Assembly"</p> <p>General Assembly votes (33–13) for partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states</p> <p>The U.N. Atomic Energy Commission control committee to work on international atomic control agency.</p>
1948 January 29 June 18	<p>Soviet Union states that the United States must destroy atom bombs before the U.S.S.R. will agree to international atomic control.</p> <p>The United Nations Committee on Human Rights adopts the International Declaration of Human Rights.</p>
1949 February 10 September 2 October 18	<p>Switzerland becomes the 46th member of UNESCO.</p> <p>International Refugee Organization announces provision made for over 600,000 displaced persons and refugees.</p> <p>In the Security Council the Soviet Union vetoes a French proposal for world census of armed forces.</p>
1950 January 21	<p>Soviet Union delegates walk out of U.N. meetings in protest to recognition of Chinese delegate of Nationalist (Chiang Kai-shek) rather than to Chinese Communist government of Mao Tze-tung</p>

APPENDIX: LIST OF REFERENCES

(A) SERIES OF PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS

This list includes the major series of special interest to the student of international affairs.

America Looks Ahead. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston. 25 cents.

The United Nations Economic and Social Council: Finer, Herman.

World Policing and the Constitution: Rogers, James Grafton
The United Nations in the Making, Basic Documents.

American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 45 East 45th Street, New York 21.

Various pamphlets (some free) and other publications on the promotion of world peace through justice.

Brookings Institution Publications The Brookings Institution, 722 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 25 cents.

Reports on economic and related matters.

Building America. Sponsored by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA. Grolier Society, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19. 30 cents each. \$2.25 for eight issues
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